John Adams
Library,

IN THE CUSTODY OF THE
BOSTON PUBLIC LIBRARY.

SHELF No.
ADAMS
163.10
v.3

Pag. 170 Regulation of Coin

Page 77
94
113
167
176
199

MEMOIRS

OF

The DUKE of SULLY.

John Adams 1772

MEMOIRS

OF

MAXIMILIAN DE BETHUNE,

DUKE OF SULLY,

PRIME MINISTER TO

HENRY THE GREAT.

CONTAINING

The History of the LIFE and REIGN of that MONARCH, And his own ADMINISTRATION under Him.

Translated from the FRENCH.

To which is added,

The TRYAL of RAVAILLAC for the Murder of HENRY THE GREAT.

IN SIX VOLUMES.

THE FOURTH EDITION.

VOL. III.

LONDON:
Printed for A. MILLAR, in the Strand; R. and J. DODSLEY, in Pall-Mall; and W. SHROPSHIRE, in New-Bond-Street.
M.DCC.LXIII.

ADAMS/63.10
v.3

A

SUMMARY

OF THE

BOOKS contained in the THIRD VOLUME.

SUMMARY of the ELEVENTH BOOK.

MEMOIRS from the year 1599 to 1601. Affairs of the marquiſate of Saluces. Artifices of the duke of Savoy to avoid making a reſtitution of Saluces. Journey of Henry IV. to Blois. Diſſolution of his marriage with Margaret of Valois: his amours with mademoiſelle d'Entragues, who perſuades him to give her a promiſe of marriage: the courage and reſolution of Roſny on this occaſion. Articles of marriage with the princeſs of Florence concluded. Foreign affairs. Roſny takes upon him the guardianſhip of his nephew d'Epinoy. Revocation of the permiſſion for manufacturing rich ſtuffs.

ſtuffs. Roſny is made grand maſter of the ordnance, and gives great application to the affairs of this poſt. The duke of Savoy comes to Paris; brings over the courtiers to his intereſt; endeavours to bribe Roſny, and afterwards to exclude him from the conferences; but fails in both attempts, and returns home. Nicole Mignon attempts to poiſon the king. A public diſpute betwixt the biſhop d'Evreux and Du Pleſſis Mornay. New ſubterfuges of the duke of Savoy: reaſons for declaring war againſt him; preparations made by Roſny for this war. Henry IV. marries the princeſs of Florence by proxy: takes Chambéry, Bourg, Montmélian, Charbonniers, &c. Other particulars of this campaign: great ſervices performed there by Roſny, notwithſtanding the jealouſy and oppoſition of the courtiers. Cardinal Aldobrandin comes to negociate a peace; Roſny's reception of him: the conferences broken off by the demolition of fort Saint-Catherine: reſumed by Roſny; who concludes the treaty. The queen comes to Paris, and is received by Roſny at the Arſenal. Foreign affairs.

SUMMARY of the TWELFTH BOOK.

MEMOIRS of the year 1601. Affairs of the finances; of money; of commerce, &c. Prohibition againſt carrying gold or ſilver coin out of the kingdom. Chamber of juſtice eſtabliſhed, but to little purpoſe. The author's reflections upon luxury and corruption of manners. The officers of the robe

robe and finances suppressed. Journey of Henry IV. to Orleans. Affairs of the United Provinces. Henry goes to Calais. The French ambassador insulted at Madrid. Embassies from the Grand Seignor and the Venetians. Elizabeth comes to Dover. Letters betwixt Henry and Elizabeth. Rosny goes to Dover. Conversations between Elizabeth and Rosny, in which they lay the foundation of the great design against the house of Austria: the great wisdom of this queen. Death of young Châtillon-Coligny. Birth of Lewis XIII. Henry makes La-Riviere calculate his nativity. The affair of the Isles concluded with the grand duke of Tuscany. Rosny procures the count of Bethune to be named ambassador to Rome, notwithstanding the endeavours of Villeroi and Sillery to the contrary. Opposition made by these ministers to the opinions and policy of Rosny. Particulars of the conspiracy of marechal Biron: Rosny endeavours to recal him to his duty: Henry sends him ambassador to London; to Sweden: he resumes his intrigues at his return. La-Fin's depositions. An account of the pretended Don Sebastian; and other foreign affairs.

SUMMARY of the THIRTEENTH BOOK.

MEMOIRS of the year 1602. Foreign princes at Paris. Henry IV. goes to Blois: the occasion of his journey. An account of marechal Biron's conspiracy: a council held at Blois upon this occasion. A design formed to arrest the dukes of Epernon

Epernon and Bouillon: the firſt clears his conduct; the great art and addreſs of the ſecond. Quarrels between the king and queen: Henry's converſation with Roſny upon this ſubject. The effects of Henry' sjourney into the provinces: he reſolves to have Biron arreſted: particulars of his and the count d'Auvergne's impriſonment; and ofBiron's trial and execution: Roſny's behaviour throughout this affair. Henry pardons the baron de Lux, and the count d'Auvergne, who again betrays him: reaſons why he behaved in this manner to the count d'Auvergne. The prince of Joinville arreſted: The king pardons him alſo; but he is confined in priſon. The duke of Bouillon artfully avoids coming to court. The courtiers endeavour to raiſe ſuſpicions in Henry againſt Roſny: curious converſations betwixt them on this occaſion. Affair of the advocates: diſcourſe of Sigogne. Edicts and regulations upon the coin, commerce, finances, &c. Mines diſcovered in France. Edict againſt duels. The alliance with the Swiſs renewed. Journey of Henry to Calais. Account of the military exploits between the Spaniards and Dutch; and other foreign affairs.

SUMMARY of the FOURTEENTH BOOK.

MEMOIRS of the year 1603. Troubles at Metz: Henry goes thither and baniſhes the Sobolles: other affairs tranſacted in this journey. Memorial againſt the cardinal d'Oſſat: examination of the ſentiments and conduct of the cardinal. Affairs

fairs of the Low Countries. Intrigues of the duke of Bouillon, and new seditions of the Calviniſts. Death of Elizabeth. James I. king of Great Britain. Henry's return: his converſation with Roſny upon the death of Elizabeth: reſolves to ſend Roſny ambaſſador to London: deliberations in the council, and intrigues in the court upon this embaſſy. Indiſpoſition of the king. Public and private inſtructions given to Roſny: his departure with a numerous retinue. Character of young Servin. Roſny embarks at Calais; inſulted by the vice-admiral of England: his reception at Dover; at Canterbury, &c. he is received in London with the higheſt honours: his ſeverity in the affair of Combaut. State of the political affairs of Great Britain. Character of the Engliſh: of king James: of the queen, &c. Several factions at this court. Roſny's conferences with the Engliſh counſellors; with the deputies of the States-General; with the reſident from Venice, &c. He obtains his firſt audience: he is concerned at not being permitted to appear in mourning.

SUMMARY of the FIFTEENTH BOOK.

FARTHER memoirs of the year 1603. Continuation of Roſny's embaſſy to London: detail of what paſſed at his firſt audience: public converſations of the king of England with him, upon different ſubjects. Accidents at the court of London favourable and unfavourable to this negotiation. Diſpoſitions of the different courts of Europe. Roſny's firſt conference with the Engliſh miniſters. Intrigues

of

of Spain. Rosny's second audience, and private conversation with king James: he persuades him to support the United Provinces: other affairs transacted between them: his second conference with the British ministers, who endeavour to overthrow his negotiation. Imprudent proceedings of count de Aremberg. Third audience. Rosny admitted to the table of the king of England: public conversations on different subjects. Third conference with the English ministers and the deputies of the United-Provinces. Artifice and perfidy of Cecil. Fourth audience: private conversations with king James, to whom he communicates the political designs of Henry IV. and Elizabeth; and endeavours to gain his approbation of them: a short abstract of these designs: James declares himself publicly in Rosny's favour.

SUMMARY of the SIXTEENTH BOOK.

FARTHER memoirs of the year 1603. Continuation of the embassy and negotiations of Rosny at the court of London. Form of a treaty with his Britannic majesty: substance of this treaty. Dispatches from Rosny intercepted. Audience of leave, and Rosny's last conversation with king James: presents which he makes in London: his return: dangers at sea: his reception from Henry IV. public conversation between them on the subject of his negotiation. Memoirs of the state of affairs in England, Spain, the Low Countries, and other foreign countries. Rosny resumes his labours in the finances. Henry sup-

ſupports him openly in a quarrel which he had with the count de Soiſſons: he entertains the king at Roſny. Journey of Henry into Normandy: what paſſed in this journey. Mutiny of the proteſtants of the aſſembly of Gap. Roſny made governor of Poitou. Eſtabliſhment of the ſilk manufactory in France: converſations on this ſubject, in which Roſny endeavours to diſſuade Henry from this deſign. Remarks on his opinion of wearing ſilk, and on other parts of luxury. A colony ſettled at Canada.

MEMOIRS

MEMOIRS OF SULLY.

BOOK XI.

THE time settled for the agreement about the marquisate of Saluces, of which the terms were referred to the pope, had elapsed without any decision by his holiness, because the duke of Savoy, who knew better than any other person that it could not be favourable for him, had, to * elude the sentence, made use of all those arts that were generally practised in this little court, whose policy it was, when its safety or advantage was in question, to employ cunning, treachery, submission, and the appearance of the strongest attachments. The first thought that presented itself to the duke of Savoy's mind was, to revoke an agreement which had only been made to gain time, or with a hope that France would embroil itself with the holy see: but as this proceeding seemed too disingenuous, he had recourse to another artifice to make the pope voluntarily resign the arbitration: he apprised his ambassador at Rome, that he had certain intelligence from France and Italy, that Clement VIII. had suffered himself to be gained by the king, on a private condition, that his most christian majesty should engage to yield afterwards to the

* This marquisate was a transferable fief of Dauphine, to which the house of Savoy had no right.

pope himself all his claims upon the marquisate of Saluces. The ambassador, who was first imposed upon by his master, explained himself in such a manner upon this collusion, that his holiness, who had only accepted of the arbitration for the advantage of both parties, resigned it with indignation.

The duke of Savoy, who had not doubted but that the pope would act in this manner, gave the king, however, to understand, that he would rely entirely upon him, without having recourse to any foreign arbitration upon the dispute. He thought, by piquing this prince upon his honour, to obtain that which was the subject of their contest, which he took care to have represented to him, as a thing of such small value, that it could not merit the attention of so great a king. And it was with these instructions that the sieurs de Jacob, de la Rochette, de Lullins, de Bretons, and de Roncas, the duke of Savoy's agents, came to Paris.

With views of this nature the minister and the confident of the prince is commonly the person whom they begin to engage in their interest, or (to be plainer) whom they endeavour to corrupt; and if he should not appear very virtuous, do not even conceal from him the design with which they come, and in their discourse make no longer any use of that caution which is observed in a congress. These gentlemen therefore told me, that their master did not pretend to hold the marquisate of Saluces of his majesty any otherwise than as a mere gift of his munificence; and at the same time insinuated to me plainly enough, that this present would produce from the duke of Savoy advantages for me proportionable to the importance of the request, and my solicitude to secure its success. I would not seem to understand these last words: and with regard to the first, I told the agents drily, that since, as they well knew, no one could bestow upon another what was not immediately in his own possession, it was necessary the duke

duke of Savoy ſhould firſt begin by reſigning all claim to the marquiſate of Saluces; and that then his majeſty, who I aſſured them had no leſs greatneſs of mind than his highneſs, would uſe his power royally. And I very earneſtly intreated them to addreſs themſelves directly to the king: which they did, diſcouraged with the manner I ſpoke to them. Henry treated them with great civility, but appeared ſo reſolute upon every thing which regarded that ſtate, that after ſeveral uſeleſs attempts, they laid aſide all thoughts of ſucceeding this way.

FINDING all France, and the court itſelf, filled with malecontents and mutinous perſons, they imagined that by puſhing them on to ſome violent reſolution, they might give Henry ſufficient employment within his kingdom, to make him loſe ſight of all that paſſed without. The duke of Savoy's preſence appeared to them abſolutely neceſſary to engage more cloſely thoſe lords that liſtened to their ſuggeſtions; and they wrote to him, that his intereſt required that he ſhould take a journey to Paris. This project was perfectly ſuited to the duke's character *; he conſented to it, and ordered them to demand his majeſty's leave for that purpoſe; which the king would have denied, if he could have done it with any appearance of reaſon. But the duke of Savoy had deprived him of the leaſt pretence, by proteſting, that he undertook this journey, in order that he might himſelf treat with his majeſty; or rather, that he came to ſubmit entirely to the king's will. This declaration he accompanied with ſo many complaints againſt Spain, that he ſeemed to be upon the point of coming to an open rupture with that crown; and that henceforward he would place all his hopes of ſecurity on an union with France. He had a ſhort time before refuſed an advantageous propoſal made him by

* It is ſaid, that this prince, during his reſidence at the court of France, one day let fall the following words, "I am not come into "this kingdom to reap, but to ſow."

the king of Spain, to ſend his ſon and his eldeſt daughter to the court of Madrid, to appear there as princes of the blood-royal of Spain.

By this ſtep of the duke of Savoy, the pope was fully determined to concern himſelf no further with the affair of Saluces: but nothing could make the king neglect two things, which from the very firſt appeared to him abſolutely neceſſary; namely, to give up no part of that ſatisfaction which was due to him by the duke, and to diſcover all his tranſactions with the malecontents of his court.

Among theſe the king always gave marechal Biron the firſt rank. His majeſty knew, that during the ſtay this marechal made in Guienne, he had ſolicited the nobility of that province to engage in his intereſts; and that at his own table he had had ſuch converſations with them, as proved him to be an enemy to the royal authority. All this might have been attributed to the pride and inſolence of his diſpoſition; but what gave moſt weight to this behaviour was, that his intrigues at the court of Savoy, although carried on with all poſſible caution, came at the ſame time to his majeſty's knowledge. And the journey the king took this year to Blois, had in reality no other motive than to diſconcert the projects of Biron, and to retain the people in their duty; but in public, the king talked of it as a party of pleaſure, to paſs the ſummer in that agreeable climate, and to eat, he ſaid, ſome of the excellent melons there. His removal from Paris likewiſe, in the ſtate things then were, was a matter of indifference.

I attended his majeſty, whoſe ſtay at Blois produced nothing of conſequence enough to be mentioned: he paſſed his time there in the employment I have already ſpoken of, and in endeavouring to procure the ſo earneſtly deſired diſſolution of his marriage with Margaret of Valois. As long as the ducheſs of Beaufort lived no one was ſolicitous to preſs Henry to a divorce, either becauſe they apprehended

prehended that their endeavours would turn to the advantage of his miſtreſs, who was univerſally hated, or that they did not care to expoſe themſelves to the rage of this woman; who was alway to be feared, even though her deſigns ſhould not ſucceed: but as ſoon as ſhe was dead, there was a general combination of the parliament, all the other bodies, and the people, to ſolicit him on this ſubject. The procurer-general came to his majeſty, and intreated him to give his ſubjects this ſatisfaction. The king, though he was not determined upon his choice, promiſed, however, to yield to the deſires of his people.

I NOW reſumed my correſpondence with queen Margaret with more ardour than before: I had taken no pains to remove the obſtacle which this princeſs made, on madam de Beaufort's account, to the conſent that was required of her; for I looked upon it as a reſource to which, probably every one muſt have applied; and it was this only that could have reſtrained the court of Rome, if the king had ſuffered himſelf at laſt to be gained by his miſtreſs: beſides, the compliance I obſerved in Margaret, aſſured me that ſhe did not make it a pretence for an abſolute refuſal. I was confirmed in this opinion by the anſwer ſhe wrote me from Uſſon, to a letter I had juſt ſent her, in which I mentioned the ſacrifice that was expected from her, in very reſpectful but in very clear terms, as ſuch negotiations require. Margaret, on her ſide, to ſhew that ſhe perfectly underſtood what was to be done, explained herſelf abſolutely upon the bill of divorce, annexing to it ſuch reaſonable conditions as took away all difficulty for the future; ſhe only deſired a decent penſion might be aſſigned her, and that her debts might be paid; appointing a man to conclude this affair, either with the king, or with me, who, though firmly attached to her, could not be ſuſpected: this was Langlois, who had ſerved his majeſty ſo faithfully in the reduction of the city of Paris, and had been rewarded for

it with the poſt of maſter of the requeſts. It was not eaſy to find a man who was more capable of buſineſs: he brought his majeſty an anſwer from Margaret *; for the king thought he likewiſe was under a neceſſity of writing to her, which he did with equal goodneſs and complaiſance, but in terms far leſs explicit than I had done. With the letters, Langlois brought a ſtate of this princeſs's demands, which were immediately granted. To render the thing more firm, Langlois undertook to make her write to the pope in terms that gave his holineſs to underſtand, that ſhe was far from being conſtrained to this act; that ſhe had the ſame ſolicitude for the concluſion of this affair as all France had. D'Oſſat provided with a writing of the ſame kind, found no more obſtacles: he was ſeconded by Sillery, who endeavoured to efface the ſcandal of his firſt commiſſion. The holy father uſed no more delays in granting the favour that was demanded of him, than what decency and ceremony required; and did not ſuffer himſelf to be influenced by ſuggeſtions of envious perſons, a deteſtable ſort of men who are to be found in every place. He appointed the biſhop of Modena, his nephew and nuncio, to put the finiſhing hand to this affair, which could be only done in France; aſſociating with him two commiſſioners of that nation, the archbiſhop of † Arles, and the cardinal de Joyeuſe; the courſe they were to take, was to

* See theſe two letters of Henry IV. to Margaret de Valois, and of Margaret's to Henry, in the new collection des lettres du Henry le Grand.

† Horace del Monte, the archbiſhop of Arles, and Francis de Joyeuſe, the ſecond ſon of William de Joyeuſe. Theſe three commiſſaries having met in the palace of Henry de Gondy, biſhop of Paris, after maturely examining the reaſons alledged on both ſides, declared the marriage void, by reaſon of conſanguinity, different religion, ſpiritual affinity, compulſion, and for want of the conſent of one of the parties; for Henry IV. and Margaret de Valois were related in the third degree; the mother of Jane d'Albert, who alſo was called Margaret, being the ſiſter of Francis I. See the hiſtory and pieces concerning this divorce in Matthieu, tom. II. b. ii. De Thou, liv. cxxiii. La Chronologie Septennaire, ann. 1509.

declare

declare the parties free from all engagements, by the nullity of their marriage.

WHILE this affair was haſtening towards a concluſion, Henry returned to Fontainebleau; and giving great part of his time to diverſions, and the pleaſures of the table, heard mademoiſelle d'Entragues ‡ often mentioned. The courtiers, eager to flatter his inclination for the fair, ſpoke ſo advantageouſly of the beauty, wit, and ſprightlineſs of this young lady, that the king had a deſire to ſee her, and became immediately paſſionately enamoured of her. Who could have foreſeen the uneaſineſs this new paſſion was to give him! but it was Henry's fate, that the ſame weakneſs which obſcured his glory ſhould likewiſe deſtroy the tranquility of his life.

THE lady was no novice: although ſenſible of the pleaſure of being beloved by a great king, yet ambition was her predominant paſſion; and ſhe flattered herſelf ſhe might make ſo good uſe of her charms, as to oblige her lover to become her huſband. She did not therefore ſeem in haſte to yield to his deſires; pride, chaſtity, and intereſt, were employed in their turns; ſhe demanded no leſs than one hundred thouſand crowns for the price of her favours. And perceiving that ſhe had only increaſed Henry's paſſion, by an obſtacle, in my opinion much more likely to cool it, ſince his majeſty was obliged to tear this ſum from me by violence, ſhe no longer deſpaired of any thing, and had recourſe to other artifices; ſhe alledged the reſtraint her relations † kept her

‡ Catherine Henrietta, daughter to Francis de Balzac, lord of Entragues, Marcouſſy, and de Maleſherbes, by Mary Touchet, miſtreſs to Charles IX. whom he married for his ſecond wife. The writings of thoſe times repreſent her as not ſo beautiful, though younger, than the fair Gabrielle, and ſtill more gay, ambitious, and enterprizing. This ſketch, which correſponds with what the duke de Sully ſays here, will be very much confirmed in the ſequel of theſe memoirs.

† This fear was not entirely without foundation. If we may believe the marechal de Baſſompierre, in his Memoirs, her mother was indeed very condeſcending in this affair; and it was even ſhe that drew the king to Maleſherbes, a houſe were ſhe lived: but her father

in, and the fear of their reſentment. The prince endeavoured to remove all theſe ſcruples, but could not ſatisfy the lady, who taking a favourable opportunity, at length declared that ſhe would never grant him any thing unleſs he would give her a promiſe, under his hand, to marry her in a year's time. It was not upon her own account, ſhe ſaid (accompanying this ſtrange requeſt with an air of modeſty, with which ſhe well knew how to enflame the king) that ſhe aſked for this promiſe, to her a verbal one had been ſufficient, or, indeed, ſhe would have required none of any kind, being ſenſible that her birth did not allow her to pretend to that honour, but that ſhe would have occaſion for ſuch a writing, to ſerve as an excuſe for her fault to her relations; and obſerving that the king ſtill heſitated, ſhe had the addreſs to hint, that in reality ſhe ſhould look upon this promiſe as of very little conſequence, knowing well the king was not to be ſummoned to to a court of juſtice like one of his common ſubjects.

What a ſtriking example of the tyranny of love! Henry was not ſo dull but that he plainly perceived this girl endeavoured to deceive him: not to mention likewiſe thoſe reaſons he had to believe her far from being a veſtal, or thoſe intrigues againſt the ſtate of which her father, mother, or brother, and even herſelf, had been convicted, and had drawn upon this family an order to leave Paris, which I had ſo lately ſignified to them from his majeſty; notwithſtanding all this, the king was weak enough to comply with his miſtreſs's deſires, and promiſed to grant her requeſt.

One morning, when he was preparing to go to the chace, he called me into the gallery at Fontaine-

was not ſo complying, any more than the count d'Auvergne, half-brother by the mother to the lady. They wanted to pick a quarrel with the count de Lude, whom Henry IV. employed upon this occaſion: and they carried the lady to Marcouſſis, where the king nevertheleſs went to ſee her. Tom. I.

bleau,

bleau, and put this ſhameful paper into my hands. It is a piece of juſtice, which I am ſo much the more obliged to do Henry, as the reader muſt perceive that I do not endeavour to palliate his faults, to acknowledge that, in the greateſt exceſſes to which he was hurried by his paſſions, he always ſubmitted to a candid confeſſion of them, and to conſult with thoſe perſons whom he knew were moſt likely to oppoſe his deſigns. This is an inſtance of rectitude and greatneſs of ſoul, rarely to be found amongſt princes. While I was reading this paper, every word of which was like the ſtab of a poignard, Henry ſometimes turned aſide to conceal his confuſion, and ſometimes endeavoured to gain over his confident by condemning and excuſing himſelf by turns; but my thoughts were wholly employed upon the fatal writing. The clauſe of marrying a miſtreſs, provided ſhe bore him a ſon in the ſpace of a year (for it was conceived in theſe terms) appeared indeed ridiculous, and plainly of no effect; but nothing could relieve my anxiety, on account of the ſhame and contempt the king muſt neceſſarily incur, by a promiſe which, ſooner or later, would infallibly make a dreadful confuſion. I was alſo afraid of the conſequences of ſuch a ſtep in the preſent conjuncture whilſt the divorce was depending; and this thought rendered me ſilent and motionleſs.

Henry, ſeeing that I returned him the paper coldly, but with a viſible agitation of mind, ſaid to me, "Come, come, ſpeak freely, and do not aſ-"ſume all this reſerve." I could not immediately find words to expreſs my thoughts, nor need I here aſſign reaſons for my perplexity, which may be eaſily imagined by thoſe who know what it is to be the confident of a king, on occaſions when there is a neceſſity of combatting his reſolution, which is always abſolute and unalterable. The king again aſſured me, that I might ſay and do what I pleaſed, without offending him; which was but a juſt

amends, he said, for having forced from me three hundred thousand livres. I obliged him to repeat this assurance several times, and even to seal it with with a kind of oath; and then no longer hesitating to discover my opinion, I took the paper out of the king's hands, and tore it to pieces, without saying a word. "How!" said Henry, astonished at the boldness of this action, "*Morbieu!* what do you "mean to do? I think you are mad?" "I am mad, "I acknowledge, sire, replied I, and would to God "I was the only madman in France." My resolution was taken, and I was prepared to suffer every thing, rather than, by a pernicious deference and respect, to betray my duty and veracity; therefore, notwithstanding the rage I saw that instant impressed on the king's countenance, while he collected together out of my hands the torn pieces of the writing, to serve as a model for another, I took advantage of that interval to represent to him, in a forcible manner, all that the subject may be imagined to suggest to me. The king, angry as he was, listened till I had done speaking, but, overcome by his passion, nothing was capable of altering his resolution; the only effort he made was not to banish from his presence a confident too sincere. He went out of the gallery without saying a single word to me, and returned to his closet, whither he ordered Lomenie to bring him a standish and paper; he came out again in half a quarter of an hour, which he had employed in writing a new promise. I was at the foot of the staircase when he descended; he passed by without seeming to see me, and went to Malesherbes to hunt, where he staid two days.

I was of opinion that this incident ought to put no stop to the affair of the divorce, nor hinder another wife from being sought for, for the king, but rather that it should hasten both: his majesty's agents at Rome made therefore the first overture of a marriage between Henry and the princess Mary of Medicis †,

Medicis ‡, daughter to the grand duke of Florence. The king suffered us to proceed in this business, and, by the force of repeated importunities, even appointed the constable, the chancellor, Villeroi, and I, to treat with the person whom the grand duke should send to Paris. We were resolved not to let the affair sleep. Joannini, the person deputed by the grand duke, was no sooner arrived, than the articles were instantly drawn and signed by us all.

I WAS pitched upon to communicate this news to the king, who did not expect the business would have been concluded so suddenly. As soon as I replied to his question from whence I came, "We "come, sire, from marrying you," this prince remained a quarter of an hour as if he had been struck with a thunderbolt. He afterwards walked up and down his chamber hastily, delivering himself up to reflections, with which his mind was so violently agitated, that for a long time he could not utter a word. I did not doubt but that all I had represented to him had now a proper effect: At length recovering himself like a man who had taken his resolution, "Well!" said he, rubbing his hands together, "well, *dépardieu!* be it so, there is no remedy: "if for the good of my kingdom I must marry, I "must." He acknowledged to me, that the fear of succeeding no better in his second than his first marriage was the cause of his irresolution. Strange caprice of the human mind! A prince who had extricated himself with glory and success from a thousand cruel dissensions, which war and policy had occasioned, trembled at the very thoughts of domestic quarrels, and seemed more troubled than when, that very year, upon notice sent from a capuchin of Mi-

‡ Mary de Medicis, daughter to Francis grand duke of Tuscany, by the arch-duchess Jane of Austria, daughter to the emperor Ferdinand. She had for her portion six hundred thousand crowns, besides rings and jewels. La Chronologie Septennaire, anno 1600, p. 121. and Matthieu, tom. II. liv. ii. p. 336, give an account of the negotiations of d'Ossat and de Sillery, relating to his marriage.

lan *, an Italian, who had come to Paris with an intention to poignard him, was seized in the midst of the court. The marriage, though concluded on, was not solemnized till the following year.

OTHER foreign affairs in this, which remain to be mentioned, are these; the war in the Low Countries, which was vigorously begun when the archduke went into those provinces; the king, upon reiterated complaints from Spain, forbad his subjects to bear arms in the service of the States, but this was merely for form's sake, policy not permitting him to suffer the Flemings to be oppressed. His majesty not only forbore to punish those who disobeyed these orders, but likewise assisted that people privately: the war in Hungary, which I shall say nothing of, except that the duke of Mercœur asked and obtained leave to serve in the troops of the emperor Rodolph; the revolution that happened in Sweden, where the then reigning king and elected one of Poland † was dethroned by his subjects, who put his uncle Charles duke of Sudermania in his place; and lost all hope of ever being restored, by the defeat he received from his rival.

WITH respect to my own personal affairs, this was the most considerable. This year the princess d'Epinoi ‡, came to me when I was at Blois, to engage my interest with the king against the princes of Ligne, who had attempted to usurp her estate, and that of her children. These children were five in number, four of whom, three sons and her eldest

* His name was Frere Honorio. Henry IV. thanked him himself for it, and caused several advantageous offers to be made him by his ambassador at Rome. Matthieu, tom. II. liv. ii. p. 302.

† Sigismond. This misfortune befel him for attempting to re-establish the catholic religion in Sweden. See, with regard to all these foreign affairs De Thou, le Septennarie, and other historians, an. 1599.

‡ Hippolite de Montmorency, widow of Peter de Melun prince d'Epinoi, died in 1594. The princes de Ligne, of whom he speaks here, are l'Amoral prince de Ligne, governor of Artois, that married Mary de Melun, who had the seigniories of Roubais, d'Antoing, and his brothers,

daughter,

daughter, ſhe had brought with her; the youngeſt was educated under the care of madam de Roubais, widow of the viſcount de Gand her uncle and mine. The princeſs told me, that the neareſt relation by the father's ſide which her children had in France being myſelf, it was fit I ſhould be their guardian. I accepted willingly of this truſt, to procure them juſtice; and had the ſatisfaction at the end of ſeven years, during which time I took the ſame care of theſe children as my own, to reſtore to them the poſſeſſion of all their eſtates, which amounted to a hundred and twenty thouſand livres a year. I ſhall have occaſion hereafter, to take notice of the obligations they received from his majeſty.

About the ſame time the merchants of Tours came to intreat my aſſiſtance in procuring leave for them to eſtabliſh manufactures of ſilks, and of gold and ſilver ſtuffs, which had not yet been made in France, together with a prohibition for importing any from foreign countries for the future, aſſuring me that they had ſufficient to ſupply the whole kingdom. Before I gave them their anſwer, I required time to examine if their report was true; and being convinced it was not, I endeavoured to diſſuade them from an enterpriſe, which could not miſcarry with impunity: I could not prevail. Upon my refuſal they addreſſed themſelves directly to his majeſty. I thought it neceſſary not to oppoſe an eſtabliſhment, which, if well conducted, might be of great uſe. The king, overcome by their opportunity, granted all they aſked; but ſix months was ſcarce paſſed, when, for want of having taken proper meaſures, they came to get their commiſſions revoked, which had given general diſcontent on account of the inconveniency and increaſe of expence to the purchaſers, which had been produced by this new regulation *.

* The murmurings of the bankers and the public farmers of the revenue, whoſe profits the new prohibition had conſiderably diminiſhed, likewiſe

THE king, believing the affair of the marquisate of Saluces would not be finished without striking a blow for it, had, for some time, thought of getting a man to perform the duties of grand master of the ordnance, who was capable of acquitting himself well of them, and above all of acting by himself; this good old d'Estrées was not able to do: however, his majesty would not take away the post from him, for his children's sake, of whom Monsieur d'Estrées was the grandfather; but the expedient he hit upon was, that the elder de Born being desirous of resigning the post of lieutenant-general of the ordnance, I might treat with him for it, and unite the duties of that employment to those of the grand master of the ordnance, although I was not invested with this last. He even offered, in my favour, to augment the privileges of the first, already very considerable, by raising it into an office, giving it authority over all the lieutenant-generals in the provinces, augmenting the salary, and lastly, by granting the patents gratis. However, I must acknowledge, that I was not to be won by these offers, and could not resolve to serve under another, after having been disappointed of the first place: I therefore excused myself, upon the business I was already charged with, from not complying with the king's intentions. The king was not to be imposed upon by this answer; and, after many solicitations which I knew how to defend myself against, he left me in anger, telling

likewise contributed not a little to its revocation. Chronologie Septennarie, p. 94. an. 1599. The case is the same with regard to these stuffs as all the other parts of traffic. The freedom of trade which should subsist between all the nations of the world, will not give us, in this respect, any advantage over our neighbours, farther than we can find out the methods of manufacturing these stuffs ourselves of a more beautiful, finer, or cheaper fabric. At this very day a great number of foreigners take them off our hands, and the prohibition is in force only as to Indian stuffs and printed linens; but it were to be wished that we would be more careful to forbear the use of the latter, or rather make in France such stuffs as would serve instead of these which are so commodious and serviceable.

me

me that he would mention it to me no more, but, that since I would listen to nothing but my caprice, he would take his own way.

His kindness for me made him that moment forget his threat. He caused a proposal to be made to monsieur de Estrées to resign his employment, which, as soon as I was informed of, I offered, by monsieur, and madam du Peche, three thousand crowns to madam de Nery, who governed the old man entirely, to procure his consent. The master of the ordnance being importuned by this woman, told the king that he was willing to accept of an equivalent for his post. The king immediately acquainted me with his resolution, adding, that he required nothing of me for the offence I had given him, but to put his artillery into a condition to obtain the marquisate of Saluces for him, which, he was every day more convinced, would not be yielded without force, that is to say, without a great number of very difficult sieges; for that is the usual way of carrying on a war in Savoy. I thanked his majesty, and agreed with d'Estrées for eighty thousand crowns; all these petty claims rising to a considerable sum more, I was, on this occasion, obliged to take up rents to the value of a hundred thousand crowns from Morand, Vienne, and Villemontée; and three days afterwards I was solemnly invested with the dignity * of grand master of the ordnance, and took the usual oath for it. This was the fourth great office with which I was then honoured; the annual produce of it was twenty-four thousand livres. I

* The king declared it an office of the crown, and that in favour of M. de Sully. Brantome in the place where he gives us the list of the grand masters of the ordnance, speaks thus, "Since M. de Rosny has had this charge of grand master, who undoubtedly does the "place so much honour, the arsenal is in very good order, owing to "his great capacity and application, especially as the importance of "the thing itself and his own good sense would have it so. Witness "what he performed in the last war with Savoy, where, in a short "time, he gave proof of very quick dispatch and diligence, by being "sooner in the field than he was expected." Vies des hommes illustres, art. M. *Rosny*. tom. I. p. 227, 228.

thought myſelf obliged, in gratitude to his majeſty, for this laſt inſtance of his bounty, to give all my cares to the artillery. I viſited the arſenal, where every thing ſeemed to me in ſuch a miſerable condition, that I reſolved to take up my reſidence there, that I might apply myſelf wholly towards its re-eſtabliſhment, although this caſtle was then very ill built and deſtitute of every conveniency.

THE affairs of the artillery were ſtill worſe. I began by a reform of the officers of this body, who not having the ſlighteſt notion of their trade, were, in fact, only the ſervants of the officers of the court of juſtice. I caſhiered about five hundred of them at one ſtroke. I conferred next with the commiſſaries for ſaltpetre, and agreed with them for a conſiderable proviſion of powder, which I ſhewed to the king. I treated likewiſe with the maſters of great iron-works, for iron to make carriages and bombs; with foreign merchants for the metal; and with cart-wrights and carpenters, for the wood-work neceſſary for the deſigns I had formed. His majeſty came to viſit his arſenal himſelf, fifteen days after I was ſettled there; and theſe viſits became afterwards one of his chief amuſements: he took pleaſure in ſeeing all the preparations that were making there, and the extreme diligence with which I applied myſelf to them.

THAT diligence indeed was no more than neceſſary in the preſent poſture of affairs in Savoy, the detail of which, and that of the war they produced, will make up the ſubject of theſe Memoirs for all the following year. It was at the end of this, that the duke of Savoy left his own dominions to come into France with thoſe intentions I have already mentioned, but they were too well known to produce the effects he had promiſed himſelf from his artifices. The reflections which the paſt conduct of this prince, together with that of his agents, and a knowledge of his character gave riſe to, were far from being favourable to him. There was likewiſe ſomething

thing ſtill more poſitive againſt him: Leſdiguieres had ſent advice to his majeſty, that the duke was fortifying his caſtles and towns with great care, eſpecially thoſe of Breſſe, and furniſhing them with ammunition and proviſions. It was known, by means of the count de Carces and the ſieur du Paſſage, that he had ſtrongly ſolicited the court of Madrid, and preſſed the pope, to procure a ſecond reference of the affair; repreſenting to him, that it was the intereſt of all Italy not to ſuffer that his moſt chriſtian majeſty ſhould poſſeſs any thing beyond the Alps. The French reſidence at Florence ſent advice, that the duke's purpoſe, by coming into France, was to circumvent the king; who, on his ſide, was perſuaded, that it was M. de Savoy himſelf who would be the dupe, not only of him, but of the king of Spain and other princes of Italy; for theſe laſt were at no pains to conceal their diſlike of the duke of Savoy's ambitious and reſtleſs ſpirit: and the king of Spain had not forgot the public complaints he made, that while they gave the Low Countries and Franche Compté, of more value than the two Caſtiles and Portugal, as a portion for one of their infantas, the other, whom he had married, had nothing but a crucifix and an image of the Virgin Mary. Many other indecent ſallies of the like nature, followed by reciprocal complaints, had abſolutely ruined their former good correſpondence.

THE event proved the juſtneſs of thoſe obſervations which the letter the king ſhewed me from Leſdiguieres occaſioned; but in public he ſhewed no reſentment at what he had learned of the duke's proceedings; he even ordered me to ſpare no expence to give him, at Lyons, ſuch reception as is due to foreign ſovereigns. This prince, I believe, had no cauſe to complain of me upon this account: but meſſieurs the counts of Saint-John * did not act

† It was by order of the king, according to F. Matthieu, vol. II. b. ii. p. 332. that the canons of Lyons refuſed the duke of Savoy the place

in the same manner; they denied him certain honours which the dukes of Savoy claimed in the assembly of canons as counts of Villars. It was at Fontainebleau and at Paris where the shew was most magnificent. The‡ duke of Savoy, on his part, appeared with splendor suitable to his rank.

THREE days after his arrival at Paris, the king, who was desirous of shewing him the new regulations in the arsenal, sent me notice that he would come and sup there with the duke and chief lords and ladies of his court. The duke of Savoy came so long before, that I could not impute such extraordinary haste to meer accident. He desired to see the magazines; which was not what I wanted; I was ashamed of the poverty of the old magazines, and therefore carried him into the new work-houses. Twenty cannons lately cast, and as many more in a readiness for it, forty completely mounted, and several other works which he saw carrying on with great diligence, surprised him so much, that he could not help asking me what I meant by all these preparations? Sir, replied I, smiling, to take Montmelian. The duke, without giving any indications that this reply had a little disconcerted him, asked, with an air of gaiety and fredom, if I had ever been there; and upon my answering him in the negative, "Tru-"ly, I thought so, said he, or you would not have "talked of taking it; Montmelian is impregnable." I answered in the same tone, that I would not advise him to oblige the king to make the attempt, because

place of honorary canon in their cathedral, which they had granted to the former duke his father, and that for a very obvious reason, the house of Savoy having since that time lost possession of the earldom of Villars. This ceremony consisted in presenting some sacred vestments to the duke at the entrance of the cloyster, and giving him rank in the church among the canons.

‡ Notwithstanding this magnificent reception, the duke of Savoy, after the first conference he had with Henry IV. become sensible that he was not likely to obtain his demand. "I have delivered my mes-"sage, said he, and may now go whenever I will." Matthieu sur le Voyage de ce prince en France, tom. II. liv. ii.

I was very certain that Montmelian would, in that caſe, loſe the title of impregnable.

THESE words gave our converſation immediately a very ſerious turn. The duke of Savoy taking occaſion to mention the affairs which brought him into France, had already, in a polite manner, begun to make me ſenſible that he knew I was not in his intereſt, when we were interrupted by the arrival of his majeſty: and afterwards nothing was thought of but pleaſure. However, the ſame night commiſſioners were named for examining the occaſion of the conteſt: the conſtable, the chancellor, marechal Biron, Meiſſe, Villeroi, and myſelf, were appointed for the king; and for the duke of Savoy, Belly his chancellor, the marquis de Lullin, the ſieurs de Jacob, the Count de Morette, the Chevalier de Brétons, and des Allymes.

THE duke of Savoy had already brought over the greater part of our commiſſioners to his intereſts: he gained them completely at laſt, by the liberal gifts which he beſtowed both on them and the whole court* at the new year. But I was the perſon that gave him moſt trouble; for every time, when the queſtion was debated among the commiſſioners, I conſtantly held firm to this determination, either that a reſtitution ſhould be made to his majeſty of the marquiſate of Saluces, or that Breſſe, and all the border of the Rhone from Geneva to Lyons, ſhould

* The duke ſent the king two large baſons and two cryſtal vaſes, as a new year's gift. "In return of which, the king gave the duke "a crochet of diamonds, where, among others, was one with his "majeſty's picture: it was a very fine piece, and the duke had a "great value for it: he made preſents to all who came to compli-"ment him." Chronologie Septen. ann. 1600. It was ſaid that he had gained over the ducheſs of Beaufort to his intereſt. So that if this lady had not died, it is probable the reſtitution of Saluces might have been diſpenſed with. The duke of Savoy playing at primero with Henry, on a bet of 4000 piſtoles, the king neglected his play, ſuppoſing that he had already won the game: but the duke, who had it in his own hand, contented himſelf with ſhewing the cards to the dukes of Guiſe and D'Aubigné, who were preſent, and then ſhuffled them together. It is D'Aubigné that relates this circumſtance of the duke's generoſity or policy.

be given him in exchange. But for the apparent incivility of such a proceeding, they would have solicited by exclusion from the meetings: therefore they had again recourse to an attempt to gain me, which they resolved to do at any price whatsoever.

On the 5th of January, Des Allymes † came to make me the usual compliments, in the name of his highness: he intreated me, with great politeness, to attend to his master's reasons; that is, in plain terms, to approve of them; for at the same time that he made me this request, he presented me with his highness's picture, in a box enriched with diamonds of fifteen or twenty thousand crowns value. To assist me in making a composition with my conscience, he told me, that this picture came from a daughter of France; and while he perceived me busy in admiring the brilliants, added, that this was given me by a prince whose attachment to the king was equal to his friendship for me. I still kept the picture in my hand, and asked Des Allymes what were the proposals he had to make me? He, who thought the decisive moment was now come, immediately displayed his whole stock of eloquence; and, for want of good reasons, endeavoured to prove the advantage that was to be gained by the pretended rupture of his master with Spain, who offered to assist the king in conquering Naples, Milan, and the empire itself. All this cost him nothing; and to hear him, one would have thought that he had been able to dispose absolutely of these dominions; for which he added, that he did not doubt but the king would yield willingly to the duke a paltry marquisate.

I could keep silence no longer. I told Des Allymes, that if the king demanded the marquisate of Saluces to be restored to him, it was not on account of its value, since that was very inconsiderable; but he could not in honour suffer the crown to be dis-

† René de Lucinge des Allymes, ambassador from Savoy to the court of France.

membered

membered of one of its ancient domains, and which had been uſurped at a time when the duke of Savoy, having received the higheſt obligations from Henry III. at his return from Poland, ought in gratitude to have abſtained from it. I thanked the deputy for his obliging expreſſions in my favour; and, to pay his compliments with others, aſſured him, than when the duke of Savoy had made an abſolute reſtitution of Saluces, I would not forget to uſe my intereſt with his majeſty, to engage him to procure thoſe opulent kingdoms for the duke which he had offered to the king, and which would be much more convenient for him than his majeſty. Saying this, I opened the box, and after praiſing the workmanſhip and the materials, I told Des Allymes, that the great value of the preſent was the only reaſon which hindered me from accepting it; but that if he would allow me to return the box and the diamonds, I would keep the picture with great pleaſure, in remembrance of a prince ſo obliging. Accordingly I ſeparated the box and diamonds from the picture, when Des Allymes telling me, that it did not belong to him to make any alterations in his maſter's preſents, I intreated him to take back all together. And he left me in deſpair of ever being able to engage me in his maſter's intereſt, and appeared but little ſatisfied with my behaviour.

All that remained now to be done was to exclude me from their meetings. Upon his majeſty's refuſing to gratify them in this requeſt, the duke of Savoy took it in his head to deſire, that the patriarch * of Conſtantinople might aſſiſt at theſe meetings in the name of the pope; which the king agreed to, not thinking of the artifice concealed under this propoſition. The next day, the king having an inclination to play at tennis, appointed the aſſembly to be kept at the conſtable's houſe, becauſe

* Father Bonaventura de Calatagirone, general of the Cordeliers, and the pope's nuncio.

he

he could conveniently make his party when he went from thence, after he had seen the conference begun: but before he left us, he exhorted all the commissioners to have a strict regard to justice; and whispering me in particular, "Take care of every "thing, said he, and do not suffer them to impose "upon you."

Upon the king's departure, I found, that instead of taking their seats, they divided into parties, two or three together, and the nuncio sometimes conferring with one set, sometimes with another, not suffering the business to be entered upon regularly: and, above all, carefully avoiding to say any thing to me. At length, Bellievre told me, that the good patriarch could not subdue his scruples about conversing with an huguenot; and intreated me, in the name of the assembly, to absent myself, since nothing could be done while I was present. I instantly comprehended the cause of this behaviour; and bowing profoundly low, withdrew, intending to go and give the king an account of what had passed. I met him in the gallery, where he had stopped to speak to Bellengreville: he asked me with some surprize, if all was over already? and upon my acquainting him with the truth of the matter, he fell into a great rage, and ordered me to return to the commissioners, and tell them, that if there was any person amongst them to whom my presence was displeasing, it was his business to withdraw, not mine. I disturbed a little the joy of the assembly, by repeating this new order of the king's. The measures they took were, to waste the hours in seeking for expedients, till dinner-time approached; and then they deferred entering upon the question till the afternoon. But notwithstanding all their endeavours with his majesty, I continued still in the number of the commissioners, and the nuncio was obliged to vanquish his reluctance.

Bretons and Roncas turned themselves on every

ſide, to avoid yielding to a reſtitution of the marquiſate; they offered to do homage for it to his majeſty, and if that was not ſufficient, to hold Breſſe upon the ſame conditions. I eaſily rendered all theſe propoſals ineffectual, and got it unanimouſly declared, to give the duke of Savoy this alternative, either to reſign Saluces to the king, or, in its place, the county of Breſſe as far as the river of Dain, the vicarſhip of Barcelonette, the valley of Sture, that of Perouſe, and Pignerol; in which caſe, all the towns and fortreſſes taken on both ſides were to be reſtored *.

THE duke of Savoy expected a quite different conduct from the commiſſioners; but the truth is, they durſt not openly oppoſe a determination which they knew to be the king's: all the reſource they had left was, to join with the courtiers in ſupporting the intereſt of the duke of Savoy: and were continually repreſenting to the king, that he ought not to act too rigorouſly with a prince, whoſe alliance he might purchaſe at a very inconſiderable price, and would be much more advantageous than a fief of no value, and which would be very difficult to preſerve. The alternative they offered the duke of Savoy afforded them a pretence for granting him ſix months to come to a reſolution: he deſired eighteen; and I maintained, there was no neceſſity for any delay. I went to his majeſty to acquaint him with this reſolution, which was taken in ſpite of me, and repreſented to him the great inconveniency of giving the duke of Savoy ſo long a time to renew his correſpondences, and to prepare for war. Henry, prejudiced

† A kind of agreement was concluded upon this plan between the commiſſaries, which it was much ſuſpected the duke of Savoy would not obſerve, becauſe of the delays he deſired: whereupon, as Le Grain relates it, a certain perſon propoſed to Henry, that the duke of Savoy ſhould be ſeized, and by that means obliged to perform his part of the articles. But this propoſal was rejected by the king. See the particulars of the negotiation, and of the duke's reſidence at Paris, in M. De Thou, and Le Septennaire, an. 1599, 1600.

by

by the discourse of the courtiers on the necessity of granting a delay to the duke of Savoy, asked me how it was possible to do otherwise? "By granting the "duke of Savoy, said I, an honourable escort of "fifteen thousand foot, two thousand horse, and "twenty cannon, to conduct him to Montmelian, "or what other place he shall chuse to go to, and "there oblige him to explain himself upon the al- "ternative that has been proposed to him." The king did not approve of my advice, his word was given to the contrary: I was truly grieved at it; for I have been always firmly persuaded, that, but for compliance, his majesty might have avoided a war, and have received complete satisfaction. All I could obtain was, that three months should be taken from the six that had been agreed upon.

THE duke of Savoy, finding that his majesty, who was weary of the continual solicitations that were made him on this subject, would no longer answer otherwise than in these few words, *I am resolved to have my marquisate*, set out a little time after for Chambery, where, till the expiration of the time prescribed, which was in the month of June, he employed himself in preparations for his defence. He would have had no occasion for them, if the plot of a woman, named Nicole Mignon, had succeeded. She had undertaken to poison the king †, and thought to have engaged the count of Soissons, who, on all occasions made known his discontent, in her design; but he conceived so great an horror at it, that he

† By procuring her husband to be admitted into the number of the king's cooks, by the interest of the count de Soissons, steward of the household. She was well known to all the princes of the blood, and to Henry himself at St. Denis, where she kept one of the principal inns during the war. The count of Soissons, to whom she had hinted, that it would be his own fault if he was not one of the greatest princes in the world, suspecting that this woman had some bad design, caused Lomenie to conceal himself in a closet, which gave him an opportunity of discovering what means she intended to use. She was accused of practising sorcery, but was only a profligate woman, and somewhat disordered in her senses. Chronologie Septennaire, anno 1600.

dis-

discovered her immediately: she confessed her crime, and was burnt.

NOTHING remarkable happened during these three months, except the dispute between messieurs Du Perron and Du Plessis. Towards the latter end of the last year, appeared a book ‡ of Du Plessis upon

‡ This book is intitled, Instructions de la sainte eucharistie, and attacks the mass by pretended arguments drawn from the fathers. As soon as it appeared in public, many catholic divines exclaimed against the falsehood of a great number of the quotations it contained. This obliged Du-Plessis to offer a kind of challenge, which those doctors prevailed upon the bishop of Evreux to accept. After several letters and steps taken on both sides to settle the method in which they were to proceed, and in which it appears that Du Plessis repented more than once of having gone so far; the king determined that there should be a public dispute between the two antagonists, wherein fifty of these passages were to be made good every day, till all the five hundred and fifty were gone through, which M. Du Perron had excepted against. They met in the council-chamber at Fontainebleau, in the presence of the king and commissaries appointed by him: those for the catholics were the president De Thou, the advocate Pithou, and the sieur Marten, reader and physician to his majesty; for the calvinists, Fresne-Canaye, and Casaubon. They met on Thursday the 4th of May, at one o'clock in the forenoon. Of sixty-one passages which Du Perron sent to his antagonists, the latter was only prepared on nineteen of them, which he had selected from all the rest: as to these, said he to the king, I will lose my reputation or life, if one of them be found false. However, he was convicted of an unfair representation in all those that were examined: and they could only go through nine of them: the chancellor then declared the opinions of all present, upon the nine articles severally, that in the first, which was from Scotus, and the second from Durandus, Du Plessis had taken the objection for the answer; in the third and fourth from St. Chrysostom, and the fifth from Jerom, that he had omitted some of the most material words; in the sixth, that it was no where to be found in St. Cyril; on the seventh, which was taken from the Code, that it was indeed from Crinitus, but that Crinitus had falsified the text: as to the eighth, which included two propositions from St. Bernard, that Du Plessis ought to have separated them, or at least to have put an &c. between: with regard to the ninth from Theodoret, that it was mutilated, and that the word idols was taken for images. This was the only conference that was held. Du Plessis Mornay, being seized with an indisposition next day, went to Saumur some days after, without taking leave of the king. Fresne-Canaye one of the commissioners, and Saint Marie du Mont, another eminent protestant, were soon after this dispute, in which Henry himself sometimes spoke, converted to the catholic faith. Du Plessis pretended to prove, by the authority of St. Cyril, that it was not a custom among the primitive christians to adore the cross, and yet he alledged the reproach which the em-

the eucharist, which was looked upon by the protestant party, to be a master-piece, and which I sent immediately to the bishop of Evreux, who was at his diocese: the difference of religion had never been able to destroy that friendship and gratitude which this prelate had always for me, nor that affection and reverence, which I had ever preserved for his merit, his abilities, and even for his quality of being my bishop: the letters we wrote to each other were always in this strain. I was greatly surprised to read in that he wrote to me on account of the book I had sent him, that the errors and falshoods it contained were so numerous, and followed one another so close, that the whole book was justly censurable. "Not "that I would accuse monsieur Du Plessis of insin- "cerity," added the bishop of Evreux, with equal moderation in his adversary's regard as politeness in mine, "but I am sorry for his misfortune in having "given credit to the confused collections of com- "pilers, who have greatly deceived him." The remainder of his letter contained only compliments upon my late preferment to the post of grand master of the ordnance, and assurances of the pleasure it would give him "to see me," he said, "who com-

peror Julian throws on them upon this very account. "It is not "very likely," returned the king, "that Julian the apostate would "have reproached the christians for adoring the cross, if they had not "actually done so; otherwise he would have exposed himself to be "laughed at." It was the king likewise who said, that at least an &c. ought to have been put in the passage from St. Bernard.

A catholic having observed to a calvinist, that Du Perron had already gained several passages of Du Plessis, No matter, answered the protestan, provided that of Saumur be still left to him. Matthieu, ibid. This fact, which is told in the same manner in several polemical treatises, is generally attested by all our good historians, and even those who treat the protestants most favourably. M. De Thou, liv. cxxiii. p. 843, who was himself one of the commissaries. Matthieu, ibid. Chron. Sept. p. 123, &c. Suppl. au Journal d'Henry IV. tom. II. p. 51, &c. Vol. 8778, de la Bibliot. du Roi. Le Grain, and several others, who give us a relation of the whole dispute; so consequently no credit is to be given to the manner in which it is related in La Vie de Du Plessis, liv. ii. p. 269.

"manded

" manded the cannons of France, obey the canons " of the church."

I NEVER had so good an opinion of Du Plessis as the rest of the party had, who were all prejudiced in his favour; and I would not have chosen to have been security for the exactness of those large volumes, which he sent into the world in so quick a succession, for that on the eucharist had been preceded by a treatise upon the church. To write well, and upon these subjects especially, long reflection is necessary. This I told the bishop of Evreux in my answer; but at the same time I observed to him, that I could not believe Du Plessis's book was, as he said, a series of errors. I told Du Perron at the same time, that this would be the subject of a great dispute between them, for Du Plessis would not suffer his accusations to pass unanswered; this was all the serious part of my letter, the rest of it was filled with compliment, praises, and an invitation to visit my new dwelling, which do not deserve to be repeated †.

WHAT I had foreseen happened. However, I had expected only a private not a public dispute. I would have interposed the king's authority to have hindered the two champions from proceeding so far, but Du Plessis was the most difficult ‡ to be persuaded, and persisted in his resolution to measure his weapons with those of the bishop of Evreux. Every one knows how the dispute was terminated. Du Plessis's defence was weak, and ended in his disgrace. The king, who would honour this challenge with his presence, gave a thousand praises to the wit and learning of monsieur d'Evreux. " What do " you think of your pope," said Henry to me, during the debate (for Du Plessis was with the pro-

† See those letters in the original, tom. II. part 1. p. 52.

‡ Sir, said Du Plessis to M. de Rosny, my book is my own child, which I will defend, and I intreat you would suffer me to do so: don't you meddle with it, for you have not reared it. Matthieu, tom. II. liv. ii. p. 340.

teſtants what the pope is amongſt the catholics) "I "think ſire," replied I, "that he is more a pope "than your majeſty imagines; for, at this moment, "he gives the cardinal's hat to monſieur d'Evreux. "If our religion has not a better foundation than "his legs and arms croſſed, I would quit it this "inſtant."

It was upon this occaſion, that his majeſty, in a letter to the duke of Epernon, told him, that the dioceſe of Evreux had vanquiſhed that of Saumur; that this is one of the greateſt advantages, which for a long time had been obtained for the church of God; and that ſuch a proceeding would draw more proteſtants to the true church than a courſe of violence for fifty years. This letter, the turn of which was no leſs ſingular than the choice Henry made of the duke of Epernon to addreſs it to, made as much noiſe as the diſpute itſelf, when it became public, which could not fail of happening when it was in ſuch hands. Some ſaid that the king wrote it to deſtroy the ſuſpicions of his not being a ſincere catholic, which notwithſtanding his converſion, prevailed during his whole life, and gave room to the Jeſuits to mention him diſadvantageouſly in their letters to Rome: others imagined that this letter had a meaning which was not at firſt perceived, and maintained, that the king had a view in it to perſuade either Spain or the proteſtants, that all efforts to induce the council of France to take violent and ſanguinary methods with them would be uſeleſs.

The ſix months that had been given to the duke of Savoy were now expired, yet he had taken no care to ſatisfy his engagement. His majeſty began to think he ſhould obtain nothing but by force; but, beſides the perſuaſions of his courtiers, who all ſeemed to have ſold their voices to the duke of Savoy, this prince was then retarded by an obſtacle far more powerful, his fondneſs for his new miſtreſs, to whom he had given the title of marchioneſs of Verneuil.

neuil. He was no longer able to think of a separation, and (it is with some confusion that I mention it) after I had, by repeated importunities, prevailed upon him to take the rout to Lyons, he deliberated whether he should not carry her with him, to which he was farther incited by the flatterers about him †. She was now with child; and, having the promise of marriage in her possession, the affair became of great consequence to Henry. Providence once more interposed in his favour. Madam de Verneuil was so frightened by the thunder during a storm, that she was delivered of a dead child. The king was informed of this accident at Moulins, whither he had advanced, and from whence he sent many a melancholy look to the place where he had left his mistress; but, restored to himself by his own reflections, he continued his rout to Lyons, where his troops had orders to join him.

I INTENDED to follow, as soon as I had settled all affairs relating to the government, and taken proper measures to secure the necessary supplies for the war, which I did not delay till the moment of execution. I had written to the receivers-general, that, according to the king's order, they were no longer to pay any bills drawn upon them, except those which were for the support of the frontier garrisons and the payment of the troops, because all others would be immediately discharged at the treasury, to which I ordered all their money to be carried directly. I likewise forbad those that paid rents, to discharge any bills without a new order, to keep them from paying, as they were accustomed, such notes as had been revoked or created without money. I raised some militia, which I chose rather to incorpo-

† She came to meet him at St. André de la Cote. Bassompierre, who was with Henry, says, that the lovers quarrelled at their first meeting, but were soon reconciled: after which, this prince carried his mistress to Grenoble, where he continued with her seven or eight days, and afterwards to Chambery, tom. I. 86, &c.

rate in the old corps, than to compose new regiments of. I applied myself more particularly to the affairs of the ordnance. I sent orders to the lieutenants of the ordnance of Lyonnois and Dauphiné, and to the commissioners of that of Burgundy, Provence, and Languedoc, to collect all their best pieces, and to make a great number of carriages for cannon and balls in proportion, and send them all with the powder and other ammunition to Lyons and Grenoble: and fearing, lest my orders should not be punctually executed, I went myself to Lyons, and returned in three days.

I GAVE the like orders in all the other provinces, and brough carriers to Paris, whom I obliged to enter into an engagement before a notary, to carry in fifteen days, three millions three hundred thousand weight to Lyons, without explaining to them what kind of merchandise it was. They were greatly astonished when they found their loading was twenty cannon, six thousand balls, and other things belonging to the ordnance not very portable. They alledged, that such heavy pieces could not be comprehended in goods of carriage; but having threatened to seize their carts and horses, and they not being willing to lose the expences they had been already at, resolved to do what was required of them: and I had the satisfaction to see all this luggage arrive safely in sixteen days at Lyons; whereas, by the ordinary methods, it could not be done in less than two or three months, and at an infinite expence.

IT was always doubted whether the king would seriously renew the war, till his majesty was seen to take his rout to the Alps. The chancellor Belliévre, who had persisted in his endeavours to dissuade him from it, finding my advice prevailed, came to me with an intention to make me approve, if possible, of the reasons he had against it. I did not regard him as one of those persons with whom to enter into an explanation would have been useless. His sincerity appeared

appeared in the manner in which he ſpoke to me, and the reflections with which his mind ſeemed to me to be agitated; the condition France was in, for which a war of any kind whatever could not but be fatal: the king's honour, which was engaged to maintain a work ſo ſolid as that of the peace of Vervins: the reproach of the infraction of that peace to which he expoſed himſelf: the fear of bringing all the duke of Savoy's allies upon him, to oppoſe whom he had an army ſufficiently provided with artillery indeed, but conſiſting only of ſix or ſeven thouſand foot, and twelve or fifteen hundred horſe, and (for ſo Belliévre imagined) deſtitute of all neceſſary proviſions. This was the ſum of the chancellor's objections.

I DO not think that, in any paſſage of theſe Memoirs, or in the conduct of my whole life, eſpecially ſince I have been called to the government of public affairs, there is any thing that can lay me under the neceſſity of juſtifying myſelf with regard to too great a propenſity for war. Should it appear to any one that, on this occaſion, I acted in contradiction to my own maxims, I anſwer, that, in reality, no maxim, however general it may be, can ſuit all caſes; and ſuppoſing war to be (as I really believe it is) an evil at all times, it is alſo certain that it is often a neceſſary and even an indiſpenſable evil, when by that only thoſe claims can be ſupported, which it would be a baſeneſs to renounce; ſince it muſt be likewiſe confeſſed, that generoſity and mildneſs, two qualities abſolutely neceſſary in ſovereigns, yet when employed againſt the common rules of prudence, degenerate into weakneſs, and are looked upon as inſtances of bad conduct.

To this general reply I added the particular reaſons for the preſent war. I ſhewed the chancellor, that he ſuffered himſelf to be unſeaſonably alarmed: the king of Spain was the only formidable ally, whom it might be apprehended would join the duke of

Savoy; but it was to be considered, that the reigning king of Spain was a young man, without experience or abilities for war, sufficiently employed in reducing his own subjects, and wholly guided by a minister as little inclined to war as himself, by the natural turn of his disposition, and a desire of keeping in his own hands the money which must be consumed by a war; and lastly, that he bore no good-will to the duke of Savoy, and was convinced, as well as all Europe, that the king demanded only a restitution of what belonged to him: that this war would appear a mere difference between the king and the duke of Savoy, or rather an effect of the intoxication of the latter, occasioned by an ill-grounded presumption, and the intrigues carried on in his favour in the council of France: and this presupposed, the success of the war depended upon its being pursued with expedition. I maintained to the chancellor, that, with four thousand men this year, the king would gain greater advantages, than with thirty thousand the next, but I did not neglect to prove to him, that his majesty was not so unprovided as he imagined, at least, that he should not want for two things, which, in the offices I held it depended upon me to furnish him with, that is money and artillery. Bellièvre was so far from being convinced by my arguments, that he left me with chagrin: the event will shew who had the best reasons on his side.

The duke of Savoy seeing that, contrary to his expectation, a French * army was ready to fall upon him, had recourse to his usual artifices, to prevent, at least, any act of hostility before the winter was

* He was encouraged, it is said, by certain idle predictions of astrologers, who gave out that, in the month of August, there would be no king in France: a thing that proved very true, says Perefixe, for at that time he was victorious in the heart of Savoy.

begun.

begun. He sent deputy after deputy to his majesty at Lyons; sometimes he appeared willing to perform the agreements, sometimes he eluded them by specious reasons, and at other times, he proposed advantageous projects for his majesty, and continued to impose upon this prince so completely, that Henry believing he should be under no necessity to go farther than Lyons, staid there much longer than he ought to have done. While I continued with Henry in this city, I guarded him against the subtilties of the duke of Savoy; but, as soon as I left him to return to Paris, to hasten, as I have said, the preparations for war, the king was so effectually deceived by the duke's pretended sincerity, that he wrote to me to suspend my cares, for every thing was settled in an amicable manner.

In effect, the duke of Savoy had agreed to all that was demanded of him, but this was a mere verbal agreement, and proposed that hostages should be given on each side; a very proper management to delay the performance of his word, by the time that was necessarily taken up in naming those hostages, and sending them to each other. I wrote to the king very freely my opinion of this pretended accommodation, and did not scruple to disobey his orders, by forwarding the ammunition *, and came in person to Montargis, from whence I sent my baggage up the Loire, intending to ride post myself. Here it was that I received a letter from the king, which contained only these few words, "You have guessed truly: the "duke of Savoy has deceived us; come to me as "soon as possible, and neglect nothing that may be "necessary to make him sensible of his perfidy."

I was informed more particularly of all that had passed, by a letter from Villeroi. The king had

* Matthieu, in the account which he gives of this expedition into Savoy, bestows, in several places, high encomiums on the duke of Sully, and in a great measure ascribes to him the honours of that campaign. Tom. II. liv. ii. p. 352, 361, 365, &c.

ſent for Roncas, from whom he had received ſo little ſatisfaction in the explanation he demanded of him, that, reſolving to preſs him in ſuch a manner as to leave him no ſubterfuge to have recourſe to, the Savoyard deputy at length betrayed himſelf by his equivocations, which threw the king into ſo great a rage, that he would hear no more, and inſtantly took his rout towards Chamberry; and it was from this place that the abovementioned billet was dated. His majeſty imagined that this city would ſurrender at his approach, and that he ſhould not be at the trouble of inveſting it; but in this he was miſtaken.

This interval was employed by the king in ſoliciting his marriage with the princeſs Mary of Medicis; and this negotiation, which was highly pleaſing to the pope, was of ſervice to the king, in hindering his holineſs from taking any part in the affairs of Savoy. D'Alincourt, whom his majeſty had ſent to Rome on this occaſion, obtained all that he demanded: the marriage was concluded on, and nothing now remained but to ſend ſome perſon to Florence, to ſolemnize it by proxy. Bellegarde earneſtly ſolicited for this honour; but all he could obtain was to be the bearer of the procuration, which was given to the duke of Florence.

While this ceremony was performing in Florence †, Henry thought it neceſſary to appear wholly taken up with balls, plays, and entertainments: however, that did not hinder him from laying out no leſs aſſiduouſly the whole plan of the campaign: he ordered Leſdiguieres to take an exact view of the caſtle of Montmelian; and upon his report, that with twenty pieces of cannon, and twenty thouſand diſcharges, it might be taken, he reſolved to attack it. He likewiſe cauſed that of Bourg-en-Breſſe to be reconnoitred by Vienne and Caſtenet, who were with me; and it being their opinion that

† See the whole account of it in La Chronologie Septennaire, an. 1600.

the

the place might be carried, it was resolved to endeavour the taking of these two towns by petard and in the same night: and in proper time besiege the two citadels in form. Marechal Biron, to whom his majesty committed this enterprise, gave the expedition of Montmelian to Crequy, and reserved that of Bourg to himself.

The king had, without knowing it, pitched upon him, amongst all his general officers, who was the least likely to give success to the enterprise. Biron was at that time deeply engaged with the duke of Savoy. It is thought that his treaty might have been at least rough drawn or sketched out by this time. He sent word to Bouvens, the governor of Bourg, to be upon his guard, and informed him of the night and the hour when it was designed to surprise him. All this was afterwards proved. But what is singular enough, this treachery did not hinder the taking of Bourg, and on the same night that it had been resolved to attack it.

Bouvens communicated the advice he had received to the garrison and inhabitants of Bourg, exhorted them to defend themselves bravely, kindled great fires, doubled, nay, trebled the corps-de-guard, and, in a word, took all possible precautions on the night that he expected to be attacked, even to the standing centinel himself. Every one impatiently expected the hour mentioned in the billet, which in reality was to be that of the attack. However, it happened that marshal Biron, who was himself at the head of his troops, either to give the governor more time, or to render the enterprise impossible to be executed, or perhaps by mere chance, took a road so far about, that instead of midnight, it was break of day when he appeared before Bourg. He would then have persuaded his officers to defer till another time an attempt which at such an hour was very improper. But his opinion was so strongly opposed by Saint-Angel, Chambaret, Loustrange, Vi-

enne, and particularly by Caſtenet, who had undertaken to fix the petard in open day, even though the baſtions ſhould be filled, and likewiſe by Boëſſe †, to whom his majeſty had promiſed the government of it; that Biron, fearing leſt he ſhould incur the imputation of cowardice, and believing that the deſign would miſcarry, was obliged to conſent to it.

The affair turned out quite otherwiſe: the garriſon and the citizens having been upon the watch till two, three, and even four o'clock, were of opinion that the enterpriſe was blaſted, or that it was merely imaginary; and when day appeared, went to breakfaſt, and to refreſh themſelves with ſleep; leaving the care of guarding their walls to ſome centinels, who being oppreſſed with ſleep, acquitted themſelves very ill of their charge. Caſtenet, with three faithful men whom I had given him, advanced as far as the counterſcarp, with each a petard in his hand, followed by twelve men well armed, and of tried bravery: the centinel cried, "Who goes there?" Caſtenet, whom I had inſtructed, anſwered, That they were friends of the city, who were come to advertize the governor, that ſome troops had appeared at the diſtance of two thouſand paces, and were gone back: he added, That he had much more to ſay to monſieur Bouvens from the duke of Savoy; and deſired the ſoldier to go and inform him of it, that the gate might opened. The centinel quitting his poſt to go to the governor's houſe, Caſtenet, without loſs of time, advanced to the gate and fixed his petard, which carried off the draw-bridge, and made a breach, through which, the ditches not being very deep, twelve men, by the help of ſhort ladders, entered immediately, and after them the whole army. All this was executed with ſuch rapidity, that the city was filled in a moment with our men, and Bouvens had only time enough to retire precipitately, with his garriſon, into the citadel.

† Peter de Eſcodaca de Boëſſe.

The

THE town of Montmelian * was taken in the same manner; and Chamberry, by his majesty's orders, was invested: the citizens, full of terror, thought not of defending the town, but fortified themselves in the castle, where at first they made a shew of resistance; however, they capitulated the next day, being intimidated by a battery of eight pieces of cannon, the fire of which they durst not stand. By the order his majesty caused to be observed, there was not the least violence committed. The French ladies, who followed their husbands in this expedition, settled at Chamberry; and the next day after the reduction of it, my wife gave a ball to the principal ladies of the town, where all appeared as gay as if it had not changed its master.

AFTER this, the king sent me to Lyons, to give orders for the furnishing and conveyance of the ordnance; and commanded me to visit, in this journey, the citadels of Saint-Catherine, Seissel, Pierre-Chatel, l'Ecluse, and other fortresses of Bresse, particularly the castle of Bourg: he ordered me likewise to provide a quantity of gabions, three feet in heighth and nine in width; upon which I answered him, that such gabions were only proper to make an enclosure for sheep newly bought up in the country. The king, on his side, in the mean time, went to possess himself of Conflans, Miolens, Montiers, Saint-Jacome, Saint-John de Morienne, and Saint-Michael: not one of these places held out against the cannon. The taking of Miolens restored liberty to a man who had been detained in the prisons there fifteen years; Feugeres brought him to me on account of the singularity of a prediction that had been made him, upon the duration of his captivity,

‡ Consult likewise, on all these military expeditions, De Thou, Matthieu, and La Chronologie Septenn. an. 1600. in which Sully is mentioned with great honour. See likewise tom. I. des Mem. de Bassompierre.

and

and the perſon by whom he ſhould be delivered; which was found to be exactly fulfilled.

I LEFT Lyons, to execute the commiſſion his majeſty had given me. I reached * Villars by dinner-time, and Bourg in the evening, where I was received and treated with great politeneſs by marechal Biron. When he found that I came to take a view of the citadel, he uſed his utmoſt endeavours to diſſuade me from it; repreſenting to me, that I expoſed myſelf to evident danger. He was certainly right: the enterpriſe was full of hazard; but it was becauſe that this marechal, having failed in his attempt to hinder me from executing my deſign, had given the enemies (for I cannot think otherwiſe) ſuch exact informations, that wherever I preſented myſelf I found a battery againſt me Notwithſtanding this, I continued there night and day, till I had finiſhed all my obſervations.

BIRON, who probably had expected that I ſhould pay dear for my curioſity, finding that I had eſcaped, laid other ſnares for me: on the day that I was to leave Bourg and return to Lyons, I received advice, that a party of the enemy, conſiſting of two hundred men, had arrived at a caſtle near the place where I was to lodge that night. I took notice of it to Biron, who then had none of that obliging ſolicitude for my ſafety which he had diſcovered before, and treated the information as a jeſt; which raiſed my ſuſpicions. I aſked him for an eſcort of ſoldiers; which he excuſed himſelf from granting, telling me, that he would commit this care to his own guards: but he privately ordered them to return, and leave me at Villars; which they did, notwithſtanding my intreaties to the contrary, as ſoon as I alighted at Villars, and my mules were unladed. The deſign of this proceeding appeared now but too plain. I ordered my mules to be loaded again, and travelled

* In the Upper Breſſe.

four

four leagues farther, nor ſtopped till I came to Vimy, where I thought myſelf in ſafety. My ſuſpicions that Biron had undertaken to deliver me up to the duke of Savoy were changed to a certainty, when I learned that three hours after I had left Villars, the two hundred men came and ſtormed the houſe I had been at, and ſeemed very much concerned that they had miſſed their blow.

A courier from his majeſty waited for me at Lyons: his buſineſs was, to get a train of artillery to force Conflans, the only one of thoſe little towns which the king had attacked that made any reſiſtance, and which ſurrendered immediately at the approach of the cannon. The king, whom I went to viſit at Saint-Pierre d'Albigny, told me, that he was afraid he ſhould not accompliſh ſo eaſily his deſigns upon Charbonnieres and the caſtle of Montmelian; and ſeemed to make ſome difficulty about undertaking thoſe ſieges at the approach of winter. I aſſured his majeſty, that inſtead of five months (for ſo long he imagined the ſiege of Montmelian would laſt) it might be ended in ſo many weeks, provided that during that time the works were carried on with vigour. The king gave no credit to what I ſaid on this head, and after I had left him ſaid to my brother and La-Varenne, that my enemies would take advantage of my preſumptuous manner of talking. However, the attention with which I had examined the weak parts of this caſtle, which had apparently eſcaped the obſervation of others, convinced me that I had not advanced any thing lightly.

THE next day, the king taking a journey to Grenoble, left the command of the army in his abſence to me. During this time, I no longer employed myſelf in obſerving Montmelian, under the cannon of which we were, but in forming the plan of the out-works, and of the diſpoſition of thoſe batteries with which I expected to carry the fort. I went afterwards to the king at Grenoble, who had paſſed his

his time in deliberation with his council upon this enterprize, which he had forbad me abſolutely to begin in his abſence. I inſiſted again upon the reaſonableneſs of undertaking it; and again found the ſame oppoſition. I know not whether it was through enmity to me, or attachment to the duke of Savoy, that the count of Soiſſons, the duke D'Epernon, La-Guiche, and many others, appeared ſo unreaſonable: amongſt all the counſellors, only meſſieurs de Leſdiguieres and de Crequy were of my opinion. I laid the plan I had juſt finiſhed upon the table, and went out, ſaying, that while they deliberated whether Montmelian ſhould be attacked, I would go and put myſelf in readineſs to take it; and in the mean time would fall upon Charbonnieres, that the example of this fort, for the taking of which I demanded only eight days, might teach them what to expect from Montmelian.

Accordingly, I laid ſiege to Charbonnieres, where I ſuffered incredible fatigues; the firſt difficulty was to bring the cannon to bear on the place; the only road that led to it was extremely narrow, bordered on one ſide by the river Arc, of which the bank was all along perpendicularly ſteep, and on the other by impracticable rocks: they could with difficulty travel a league a day, becauſe they were every moment obliged to unharneſs the cannon, one of the wheels almoſt always running over the ſide of the precipice. We were certain at leaſt of favourable weather; for in this climate it is generally fair during the autumn; however, there now fell ſuch violent rains that the road was all under water, and the eight days which I had thought ſufficient for taking the place, had been almoſt wholly conſumed in bringing up the carriages. This was my excuſe in the council againſt the malicious remark which the count of Soiſſons and others did not fail to make upon the promiſe I had given. The king, who that moment looked at me attentively, perceiving that my

my face was very red, and all overſpread with pimples, ran to me, and unbuttoning my clothes, examined my neck and breaſt, crying, "Ah! my "friend, you are very ill." He ſent immediately for Du-Laurens †, who, after examining thoſe pimples, ſaid, that by bleeding and taking a little care of myſelf they would be removed. I had, indeed, over-heated myſelf with labour; and, when in a violent ſweat, had been wet quite through my clothes with the rain, without perceiving it. I was bled as ſoon as I got to my quarters, which were at Semoy: the king had his at Rochette, from whence he ſent Thermes the next day to know how I was; and was greatly ſurpriſed to hear that his meſſenger had found me on horſeback, viſiting my batteries.

BEFORE I erected them, I was willing to take a more exact view of the place, beginning with Aiguebelle, for that was the name of the little town at the foot of the fort. It ſeemed to me that I was known every where, and that there was a general conſpiracy againſt me; for as often as I appeared in view, a volley was diſcharged upon me. The rock upon which Charbonnieres is ſituated, appearing inacceſſible on all ſides, and not to be taken by the cannon, I was greatly afflicted: however, examining it more narrowly, I thought that I had found out a part where what ſeemed on the outſide a natural rock, might probably be a place filled up with earth covered with green turf. I repreſſed the joy this diſcovery gave me, till the night afforded me an opportunity of being convinced of it. I approached very near the wall, being favoured by the darkneſs of the night, and was tranſported with joy, when, upon trying the ground with my pike, I found that it went down as I deſired, and that this baſtion was ſuch as I had believed it to be. I was no longer in

† André Du-Laurens, the king's phyſician.

doubt

doubt on what ſide I ſhould batter the fort, and no difficulty now remained, but to find out ſome place proper for erecting theſe batteries; for Charbonnieres is, indeed, ſurrounded with mountains that command the town, but ſo ſteep that a man can hardly aſcend them on foot. I began again to creep along theſe mountains, which, in reality, had a terrible appearance, and all ſeemed wholly inacceſſible to the cannon, except one, upon the declivity of which, I ſaw a road where it was not impoſſible but ſome pieces of cannon might be heaved up by main ſtrength. Unfortunately the acceſs to this road was by another which paſſed ſo near the fort, that they might pelt us from thence with ſtones.

THIS was another obſtacle, which did not, however, cool me in my attempt. I choſe out two hundred French, and as many Swiſs, to each of whom I promiſed a crown, provided they could, by this road, bring up ſix cannon, which I gave them, and mount them on an eminence that I pointed out to them. I pitched upon a very dark night for this work, recommending to them particularly, to make as little noiſe as poſſible; and, to prevent the beſieged from obſerving it, cauſed horſes and carmen to advance in the oppoſite roads, whoſe cries and the ſmacking of their whips, drew all the enemy's fire to that ſide, but with no effect; for theſe carts were covered, in their march, by trees, gabions, and even by the walls, while my men that were imployed in forcing up the cannon, eſcaped the notice of the beſieged, who were deafened with the noiſe of their own fire. I appointed La Vallée ‡, lieutenant of the ordnance in Brittany, and other officers, to watch over and encourage my men in this uncommon method of carriage. It rained ſo violently, that La Vallée and the reſt of the officers left their poſt to go to ſupper, and the ſoldiers their cannon,

‡ Michael de la Vallée Piquemouche, governor of Comper.

when

when they were got about half way. This was what I had expected; and, having taken that road, I met them in their retreat, and gave them a severe reprimand, threatening them that they should have no pay for three months, and brought them all back that instant to their task, which they resumed, and the cannon again began to move. I did not quit them till I saw them out of danger, which did not happen without receiving some check: their delay at length occasioned their being discovered, and six were killed and eight wounded.

I GOT back to my quarters while it was yet dark, soaked through with the rain, and so disguised with dirt, that I was not to be known, but full of joy that my six pieces of cannon were out of danger, though not yet upon the top of the rocks. I slept an hour, and breakfasted, and returning to my work, met La Vallée, who, not knowing what I had done, began to value himself upon the performance of the night. The reproaches I loaded him with, while I contradicted what he said, ought to have covered him with confusion: but he was the must undaunted lyar I ever knew, "What! you "have been there then," said he, without the least discomposure. "Well, I sincerely confess I am a "fool." "You are so, indeed," replied I, "and "something worse; but avoid such a behaviour for "the future, and repair your fault." It was not doubted but the besieged would endeavour to make themselves amends for their being surprized; which did not hinder the cannon, by the mere force of my men's labour, without any assistance from the horses, from being placed upon the rock at nine o'clock, where, during that time, I had made provision of gabions, planks, and every thing that was necessary to make platforms there.

BUT, when the gabions came to be filled, no earth was to be found within half a league of the place: all that could be got in this stubborn ground was stony,

ſtony, and could not be uſed for making port-holes and platforms, without running the danger of laming all who were employed in the work. The officers for want of this uſual defence, ſeeing themſelves expoſed to the whole fire of the place, came, in great conſternation, to acquaint me with the condition they were in. I told them, without any appearance of emotion, that they ſhould begin directly the paliſade, which I had ordered them to erect along the borders of the rocks, making it very high and thick, to deprive the enemies, at leaſt of the ſight of the cannon, which otherwiſe they would be able to diſmount; and this was performed immediately, theſe mountains being almoſt covered with wood. To ſupply the reſt, I ordered the carpenters, and pioneers of the army, to cut down two hundred large beech trees, which were cleaved into billets, ſome round to fill up the gabions, others ſquare, to make a ſecure lodgment for the ſix pieces of cannon; and the better to conceal their laſt ſituation from the enemy, to which the branches of the paliſade greatly contributed, I contrived, that there ſhould be on each ſide ſeveral openings filled with baſkets of earth; upon which the enemy made a continual fire, without knowing at what part of the paliſade the artillery was placed, till the moment when we were prepared to diſmount the battery of the fort, and throw down the paliſade by which our cannon had been concealed. At two o'clock in the afternoon, this work was completed; and about an hour afterward his majeſty came to viſit it, and embracing me, aſſured me of the ſatisfaction it gave him. He ſaw no obſtacle that ſhould hinder us from beginning to batter the place. I repreſented to him, that it was ſtill neceſſary to delude the beſieged till night: this prince ſubmitted to my opinion; but the count of Soiſſons, d'Epernon, La Guiche, and Villeroi, who attended him, making obſervations that his cannon was pointed againſt a rock,

rock, on which it would be uſeleſs to loſe more time, Henry came to me and ſaid, that he would have them fire, that inſtant, ſome vollies upon the oppoſite ravelin: again I conteſted this point with him, and perhaps with rather too much heat; for it gave me great uneaſineſs to ſee a work, that had coſt me ſo much labour, likely to be ruined by two much precipitation. My reſiſtance put Henry into a paſſion; and he again, and in a very abſolute manner, commanded me to obey him, even adding, that I forgot he was the maſter. "Yes, ſire," replied I immediately, "you are the maſter, and ſhall be "obeyed, though at the expence of ruining every "thing." I cauſed the paliſade to be thrown down, and gave orders that they ſhould fire; but I would not be a witneſs of it, and withdrew in great diſcontent. As the guns were not aimed, every body took upon them to direct them according to his own mind, but no one hit the right place. After a hundred ineffectual diſcharges, the king ſent La Gueſle for me, to complain to me of the faults of my batteries. I replied, that I intreated his majeſty would excuſe me; for it being now ſunſet, it was no longer time to undertake any thing. His majeſty ordered the firing to ceaſe, and every one withdrawing, I came and lay in the midſt of my batteries, which I cauſed to be completed during the remainder of the night, notwithſtanding the rain that fell in great abundance. The beſieged, on their ſide, laboured as hard, and were not without ſome apprehenſions that they ſhould find the place, to which they gave the moſt attention, defective: I judged ſo by the fires and candles which I ſaw lighted up in the fort, and contented myſelf with interrupting their ſecurity, by firing ſome diſcharges from time to time.

At the break of day, there aroſe ſo thick a fog, that, at ſix o'clock, the fort could not be ſeen: this unlucky accident gave me great uneaſineſs, becauſe all my batteries were ready; and I had boaſted over night,

night, that I would take Charbonnieres the next day. I fancied, however, that the agitation of the air, occaſioned by the cannon, might poſſibly diſperſe the fog, and I cauſed ſome vollies to be fired. Either by chance, or by a natural effect, that which I had jeſtingly propoſed, ſucceeded almoſt beyond my hopes. No ſooner had the reſt of the artillery anſwered the cannon from the top of the mountain, than the fog wholly diſappeared. The beſieged had been all night employed in erecting a battery of four pieces of cannon over-againſt my ſix, which the imprudence committed the day before had diſcovered to them, and which, at that inſtant, they endeavoured to diſmount. I found that there was no time to be given them, and cauſed a piece to be pointed directly oppoſite to their port-holes, which rendered two of their four cannons uſeleſs, killed one gunner, and wounded two others: but this did not happen till after their diſcharge had killed on our ſide, ſix gunners, and two pioniers, and at length made our pieces uſeleſs, till they were diſlodged from thence.

THE king ran thither upon the noiſe, at nine o'clock, and ordered his dinner to be brought to a place where I had contrived in ſuch a manner, that he might ſee every thing that paſſed without danger. This was an incloſure made with the largeſt trees, laid at their length one upon another, in the form of a rampart. I ſhewed his majeſty the bodies of thoſe that had been juſt killed, and made him ſenſible, that this was the conſequence of the bad counſel that was followed the day before. I did not ſay this without deſign, perceiving that the ſame perſons continued ſtill to find fault with my work, and to prejudice his majeſty againſt me. I did not ſuffer myſelf to be at all diſcompoſed with their obſervations, and told them haughtily that, not having yet eat any thing, though I had laboured hard all night, I would leave the place free to any of them that were deſirous of playing the grand maſter of the ordnance;

ordnance; but that, at my return, if they did not permit me to order my batteries as I pleaſed, I would abandon them entirely. My table, as grand maſter, conſiſted of forty covers, and was placed under a kind of half arch, formed by nature in the rock, and hung with ivy. The king ſent me a large trout pye, which was ſent him from Geneva. My dinner was ſoon over, and I went again to intreat his majeſty that he would ſuffer me to perform the duties of my employment alone, and renewed my promiſes that I would make him maſter of Charbonnieres that day. The king replied that he would be contented if it was taken in three days: upon which La Gueſle ſaid, that, if he was in the place, he ſhould know how to hinder it from being taken in a month. Go there then, ſaid I to them all, fatigued with their impertinence, and if I do not hang you all to-day, let me paſs for a boaſter.

The king then withdrew into his encloſure, and delivered me from the importunate preſence of his courtiers for three hours, which he paſſed in waiting for his dinner, at table, and in ſurveying the park of artillery. At the end of this time, I ſaw him come back again with the count of Soiſſons, to whom he ſaid loud enough for me to hear, "This "place will not be taken to-day." The count anſwered, with great complaiſance, That his majeſty, who had more knowledge of war than any perſon whatſoever, ought to make uſe of his authority to force me to obey, inſtead of waſting time in battering a rock, which could not be hurt by the cannon. I had my revenge that inſtant. The king came juſt at the time that the enemy beat a parley, and the lieutenant of the place came out to treat with me. I intreated his majeſty to have no part in the capitulation; and I told the lieutenant that he might go back again, for I was reſolved the garriſon ſhould ſurrender at diſcretion. The lieutenant returned with a perſonated boldneſs, ſaying that there were

ſtill two hundred men in the fort who were able to hold it out eight days longer. Henry withdrew, leaving Leſdigueres and Villeroi with me, who perſuaded me to accept of the conditions offered by the beſieged. Leſdigueres even carried me towards the fort, to ſhew me that the enemies were not reduced to extremity. I ſtopped him when we came within two or three hundred paces of the curtain, telling him, that it would be raſhneſs to expoſe himſelf to the mouth of the cannon of the fort; and I withdrew to a rock a hundred paces diſtant, which ſerved me as a ſhelter, while theſe gentlemen very unſeaſonably rallied me for my caution; but they ſoon changed their tone when a dreadful fire obliged them to follow me.

THE lieutenant of the fort returned a ſecond time, but with propoſals little different from the former. I ſent him back without hearing him: upon which Villeroi ſaid, That, if the city failed of being taken that day, he could not diſpenſe with himſelf from acquainting the king that it was owing wholly to me. I pretended not to hear him: and, ſending the beſieged my laſt reſolutions in writing, ordered the artillery again to play: the ſecond diſcharge ſet fire to the powder of the beſieged, and killed twenty or twenty-five of their men, and ſix or ſeven women; at the third, the little ravelin fell down entirely, and they could no longer bring any aſſiſtance to the breach, becauſe the cannon ſweeping along a low path that led to it, at every fire deſtroyed ſome of their beſt ſoldiers. This made them reſolve to beat a parley once more, which I pretended not to hear, although I ſaw their drummer carried up in the air at the heighth of twelve feet, by a cannon ball which entered the ground where he ſtood, but did him no other hurt. The beſieged then held up a pike, with a flag faſtened to the top, crying out that they ſurrendered, and implored us to ceaſe firing. Yet the artillery continued to play, till

till the enemies, holding out their hands over the breach to our ſoldiers, I was afraid ſome French would be killed amongſt them. I then mounted my horſe and entered the city on full gallop. It was lawful to treat it as one carried by aſſault; but that heart muſt be wholly impenetrable to compaſſion, that could not be ſoftened by a ſight ſo truly pitiable as now preſented itſelf: it was the women, the wounded, and thoſe that were ſcorched by the fire, who came and threw themſelves at my feet. I never in any other place beheld the ſex ſo lovely as in this city, nor ſo finiſhed a beauty as one woman in particular who came to implore my mercy: inſtead of executing my threat, to hang all the inhabitants, I gave the ſame conditions I had offered at firſt, and cauſed the garriſon to be conducted to a place of ſecurity which I had appointed for them.

NOTWITHSTANDING this ſucceſs with Charbonnieres, I ſtill found great oppoſition in the council to my propoſal of attacking the caſtle of Montmelian. The debate ran very high: "Take care "what you do," ſaid his majeſty to me, prejudiced by the great number that diſapproved of the attempt; "for if we are obliged to raiſe the ſiege, every one "will exclaim againſt you, and I poſſibly ſhall be "amongſt the firſt." They were not ſenſible at that time what a ſtrong train of artillery, well conducted, was able to do at a ſiege: what had happened at Charbonnieres had ſo confirmed me in my opinion on that head, that I did not ſcruple to engage that I would carry Montmelian in five weeks, as I had already promiſed in a former council: I ſtipulated only for one condition, which his majeſty could not deny me, becauſe he had accepted it, without its being named, and this was, that he ſhould not be preſent at the ſiege. I foreſaw that it would be very bloody. I produced a plan of the fortreſs, and of the attack; and every one agreeing that I ſhould

make the attempt, I laid ſiege to the caſtle of Montmelian.

THIS caſtle is ſituated on a rock almoſt as hard as that of Charbonnieres, and ſo high that it commands the whole country about it; ſteep and inacceſſible on all ſides except that next the city, where the aſcent is leſs difficult, but on which, to make amends, there runs a ditch, cut in the rock itſelf, and which muſt have been done with infinite labour with the point of a ſharp chiſſel; beſides which, there were three baſtions, that could neither be ſapped nor undermined, their foundations being of rock itſelf, almoſt impenetrable, and above a toiſe and a half deep. The country is ſtrewed with ſeveral mountains, but ſome are ſo diſtant, that they appear to be abſolutely out of the reach of cannon, and the rocks that are neareſt are ſo ſteep and pointed at the top, and ſo rugged and bare, that far from being poſſible to carry up and make uſe of cannon, it is difficult to believe that a man could climb up. The caſtle was then provided with thirty pieces of cannon, with powder for eight thouſand vollies at leaſt, a proportionable garriſon, and ammunition in great abundance.

THE firſt thought that occurred to my mind, and ſupported it againſt obſtacles in appearance unſurmountable, was, that however ſolid and continued the rock ſeemed to be, upon which, or rather in which, the baſtions were raiſed, it was not poſſible that it ſhould be all of equal hardneſs; and if one part of it only was ever ſo little weaker than the reſt, the artillery I had would ſecure me the means of opening a paſſage through it. In order to be convinced, I began to open the trenches before the baſtion called Mauvoiſin; for otherwiſe it would have been impoſſible to have approached near enough to diſcern whether this whole maſs was an entire rock, cut with a chiſſel; but the rock which we found even with the ground hindered us from carrying on the trenches.

I WAS

I was obliged to have recourse to artifice; and one very dark night caused a hut to be built with clay, and thatched over, very near this bastion, and so low that it could not be thrown down by the cannon: it was shot through and through with the small arms as soon as the day discovered it to the besieged; but it was not overturned, and none of our men were in it. I suffered the enemy to discharge their rage for some days upon this hut, till of themselves they should cease to fire; which at length they did, supposing it had been built there to make them spend their powder in vain. When I found the besieged neglected it, I entered it in the night, taking no other arms with me but a buckler, with which, upon occasion, I could entirely cover my body against the fire. From this hut I carefully examined the whole bastion; I perceived there a light at the bottom, from whence I concluded that it was hollow, and that it was not an entire rock which could be cut into so deep. Without doubt the besieged were then making some repairs there. The day beginning to appear, I perceived likewise that the flank was uncovered; and this was proof that it was not a solid rock that formed either; and that this flank presented itself naked and easy to be pierced with the cannon. I was now satisfied, and had no other care but how to get out safely, which in broad day could not be done without difficulty, the hut not being above a hundred paces distant from the parapet, which was lined with soldiers, and I had above two hundred to go before I could shelter myself. I seized that moment when the guards being relieved, the soldiers began to be careless, and leaving my buckler in the hut, I began to run as fast as I was able; four centinels perceiving me, cried out, and fired upon me at the same time; their musquet-shot whistled about my ears and covered me with gravel and flint stones, but did not

wound me; before the other soldiers were ready, I had gained the nearest lodgment.

I HAD at first resolved to place a battery of cannon on an eminence on the side of the Isere, where they might be carried up more easily by the help of steps cut by the hands of men; but having observed, on the opposite side of the water, another eminence which faced the citadel, and which had this advantage, that from thence might be seen the road that led to the wells of the castle, and to the magazine, the entrance of the tower, and the guard-house; I preferred this last, and considered upon the means to carry up six pieces of cannon. This eminence was perpendicularly steep on all sides but one, and even this side of the ascent was a league about: but this was not the greatest difficulty; to plant them there we must level rocks of such hardness, that most of the officers thought the enterprize ridiculous.

THE enemies were not of the same opinion: as soon as they found that we had undertaken to make a lodgment upon the edge of the rock, they pointed six pieces of cannon there likewise, and made a continual fire: the first volley was shot one day when I was giving directions about the works, with my staff of command in my hand, dressed in a green coat laced with gold, and a plume of green and white feathers upon my head. I observed that this shot had passed a good deal above my head, and that which followed it as much below: perceiving that they were going to fire a third time, I said to Lesine, Maignan, and Feugeres, that this would be between both; and that, without doubt, the besieged having perceived me, would take an exact aim. I retired two or three steps behind a shelving part of the rock, from whence I held my pike in one hand, fixed in the place where I had stood myself; one ball threw down the pike, the other killed three pioneers and two gunners, and broke some glasses

and bottles that had been brought for a refreſhment, and were placed in a hole of the rock. This accident was related to his majeſty, as an inſtance of raſhneſs in me; and he wrote to me immediately, that my perſon being ſtill more neceſſary to him for the buſineſs of the ſtate than war, he deſired that I would not act like a mere ſoldier of fortune, who had a reputation to raiſe; and that he would recal me, if I diſobeyed this command.

HENRY could not reſiſt the deſire he had to ſee the diſpoſition of this ſiege, and wrote to me a ſecond time, deſiring I would diſpenſe with the promiſe he had given me to the contrary, aſſuring me, that he would go to thoſe places only that I ſhould appoint, and with no other attendants than the count of Soiſſons, D'Epernon, Bellegarde, and me. I intreated him at leaſt to diſguiſe himſelf in an ordinary cloak; and, above all, to ſhun, at the expence of going half a league about, a certain field ſtrewed over with flint ſtones, oppoſite to which the beſieged kept a party of thirty or forty ſoldiers continually, armed with muſquets; and ten or twelve pieces of cannon were pointed there, becauſe they knew that our men paſſed every moment through this field, to go to the new battery raiſed upon the rock. I did not doubt but that he would have complied with this requeſt; but when he was upon the ſpot, he could not reſolve to uſe this precaution; and my intreaties being ineffectual, we marched all five in a file. Some muſket-ſhot that we were expoſed to at firſt made two or three of the company look pale; but it was much worſe when we entered the field; there was at once ſo terrible a diſcharge of the heavy cannon and ſmall-ſhot, that we ſaw ourſelves in a moment all covered with earth, and our ſkin ſcratched with a ſhower of thoſe little flint-ſtones. Henry making the ſign of the croſs, "It is now, "ſaid I, that I acknowledge you to be a good ca-"tholic." "Let us go, ſaid he, this is a bad place."

We doubled our pace, esteeming it a singular piece of good fortune that none of us were killed, or at least lamed. No one thought of returning the same way, but took the road from the mountains, where I caused horses to be brought for the company.

The king was a little ashamed of his unnecessary rashness, which was the cause, that some days afterwards, when I sent him notice that all my batteries were finished, his majesty, who was then returned to the Tarantaise, having an inclination to see them, ordered me to make a truce for some hours with the governor. The king's curiosity being satisfied, I was seized with an inclination to exert the prerogative of a grand master exercising his office in the royal presence; but as this could not be done without a discharge of the artillery, which would have been considered as an infraction of the truce, which was not yet expired, to induce the besieged to break it I ordered some commissaries to send certain ammunitions to the battery upon the rock, which they had an occasion for there. The enemy, who had not lost any part of their fierceness, and probably repented of having granted the truce, cried out that it was violated, and that they were going to fire. Accordingly, they fired twelve or fifteen cannon-shot. I had given my men orders, in case this happened, to hold themselves in readiness to answer them immediately by a general discharge. This was the first, and afforded matter for serious reflection to the besieged, when they saw their tower battered by fifty cannon: they were the first to demand a continuation of the truce; especially when a second discharge succeeded so rapidly. From that moment they began to alter their opinion, that the citadel was impregnable, and privately sought out ways to procure an honourable composition.

Two women were by chance the first movers *

* The historian who has given us the life of the duke d'Epernon, ascribes to him the honour of taking Montmelian.

of

of this accommodation. Madam de Brandis, wife to the governor of Montmelian, and then with him in the caſtle, amuſed herſelf with making little glaſs toys and pieces of chair-work. My wife being then in the town, ſhe ſent her a pair of ear-rings and two chains of exquiſite workmanſhip. Madam de Roſny, in return, ſent her wine and veniſon, and deſired to know if it was not poſſible for them to ſee each other: they obtained permiſſion for it, and paſſed three afternoons together with ſuch familiarity, that at length they began to conſider how Montmelian might be ſurrendered with honour. Each acquainted her huſband with the ſubject of their converſations, and we were ſo far from oppoſing them, that they were authoriſed to go on, but concealed from one another that they acted by permiſſion. Madam de Brandis had an indiſpoſition that made the country air neceſſary for her. Her huſband thought he could procure this favour through the interpoſition of my wife; and ſhe made ſo reaſonable a repreſentation to him of the condition to which he would be ſoon reduced, without being able to obtain honourable terms afterwards, that he conſented to treat with me, and ſent me a deputation for that purpoſe. I diſpatched notice of it to the king, who propoſed it to his council; and it was there reſolved, that a month ſhould be granted to the governor, after which, if he was not relieved, the place ſhould be ſurrendered. I was very ſure that it could not hold out ſo long, and that it was relying too much upon the doubtful ſincerity of an enemy to grant ſuch conditions. I gave my opinion freely, but it was to no purpoſe to oppoſe a reſolution in which envy had as great a ſhare as fear.

The king did not begin to repent of having followed the counſels of marechal Biron and d'Epernon rather than mine, till, a little while before the expiration of the time granted to the beſieged, a report was ſpread, that an army of twenty-five thouſand

men was coming over the Alps to their assistance. The king acquainted me with the perplexity into which this news threw him: he was determined to meet the enemies and fight them; but he was sensible of the danger he ran, in leaving behind him such a fortress as Montmelian. He asked me if by some means or other there was not a possibility of putting him in possession of it before that time. Difficult as it appeared, it was nevertheless accomplished, and in this manner.

Ever since the suspension of arms, the count of Brandis suffered all strangers to enter his castle who brought provisions and necessaries which the wounded, and even madam de Brandis herself, had occasion for. As there was only one gate to enter by, the croud was often so great that some blows passed between them; for which the governor could not chastise them, because there were a great many Frenchmen amongst them, and therefore intreated me to apply a remedy to this inconvenience: and I now believed that I had found the opportunity I sought for. I placed a guard of fifty chosen men at the gate of the castle, commanded by officers who, being informed of my design, accustomed the guards of the castle to see them enter it, at first three or four only in number, afterwards more, till at length, the garrison not daring any longer either to hinder or fire upon them, they found themselves almost masters of the castle itself, without giving them any assistance; but on the contrary, instead of lessening the disorder, these French did all they could to increase it.

Brandis imputed all to the licentiousnēss of the soldiers, and complained to me of it. I told him, that he might fall upon all those strangers, whom I supposed to be country people. He replied, that he would have done so, but for the great number of my soldiers that were amongst them; and that, rather than do them any violence, although without any intention to break the conditions, he chose to confide

fide to me the care of putting an end to the diſorder. I ſeemed to yield to this expedient (which was what I moſt ardently wiſhed) only to reſtore order and quiet, and told the governor, that I could eaſily accompliſh it, if I had a guard within equal to that without: he conſented to it, and I cauſed fifty ſoldiers to enter; but theſe were not all, thirty had got in before, and a much greater number had ſlipt in with them; I came thither myſelf likewiſe, with all my train: and from that time our party was ſo ſtrong, that the fort and part of the tower was at our diſpoſal.

BRANDIS then found the fault he had committed, but could repair it no otherwiſe than by ſhewing himſelf ſtill more generous. He came to me and told me, that he conſented I ſhould take poſſeſſion of the tower, and that he remitted it wholly upon the ſecurity of my word. I reſolved not to abuſe his confidence, and faithfully obſerved all the articles. I ſupped and lay in the tower that night; and the next day after that in which I had received this commiſſion from the king, I went to tell him that without any fears from Montmelian, he might march to meet his enemies; which he did in good order, and at the head of his army; but the information he had received was found to be falſe.

THE garriſon of Montmelian marched out after the month was elapſed, and yielded the place to his majeſty, who commanded me to ſettle Crequy there with his company. The garriſon was reinforced, and provided with great plenty of ammunition of all kinds. I would have perſuaded the king to have diſmantled this place, as it muſt undoubtedly be reſtored to the duke of Savoy in caſe of a peace; and to have done the ſame by all the other conquered fortreſſes: but the advice of the courtiers, who all ſeemed to be in the pay of the duke, ſaved Montmelian from a treatment that good policy required.

THE myſtery of this conduct with regard to

Montmelian, as well as many other things, was explained two years afterwards, by the discovery of some letters of marechal Biron in cyphers: he told the duke of Savoy, to whom they were addressed, that he had obtained a month for the garrison of Montmelian, to give him time to raise the siege: that he had nothing to expect from his friends, unless he made an effort to save this place, which could hold out three months longer; and assured him, that the reduction of it would give him great concern. In the letter he wrote to this prince after the castle was taken, he tells him, that his negligence in succouring it had silenced the French lords in his party, who would have declared against the king, if, by advancing to join them, he had put it in their power to do so with safety. Notwithstanding the caution he observed in not writing their names, they were all so well described, that it was not difficult to know them. The silence I keep with regard to these names is only in favour of some whom the public perhaps has not suspected.

MONTMELIAN was not yet surrendered, when it was reported in the French army that cardinal Aldobrandin, the pope's nephew and legate, was on his way to come and treat with his majesty concerning a peace and his marriage. The king having appointed me to go and receive his eminence with all imaginable honours, I advanced to meet him with a body of 3000 foot, and 500 troopers, all spruce fellows. It was not difficult for him to perceive that it was the grand master of the ordnance who waited for him, by the manner in which he was received at his approach to Montmelian; the truce affording me an opportunity to make use of the artillery of the place as if it had been my own. Upon this occasion I joined them together, to pay him the greater honour: the signal was given by a white flag raised on the battery of the rock: mine began after a great fire of the small shot, and was answered by

by that of the caſtle, in ſuch a manner, that both having time to load again, this double diſcharge of an hundred and ſeventy cannons, performed with the utmoſt regularity, and multiplied by the echoes formed amidſt the mountains, had the nobleſt effect imaginable, though not in the legate's opinion, I believe, who was more frightened than ſoothed, by an honour ſo magnificently dreadful, believing all the mountains about him were going to fall down, and had ſeveral times recourſe to the ſign of the croſs.

I CARRIED the cardinal to dinner at Notre-Dame de Miens, and forewarned him of two things relating to the buſineſs he mentioned to me; one was, that he ſhould give no credit to any of thoſe perſons who would make a boaſt to him of their intereſt with his majeſty; the other, that if they promiſed him to get all the places taken from the duke of Savoy to be reſtored without being demoliſhed, he ſhould believe them ſtill leſs, for he might be aſſured this would never happen. After this caution, I reſigned him freely to thoſe ſent by his majeſty to fetch him, and continued my hoſtilities, by beſieging the citadels of Bourg and fort Saint-Catherine.

THE latter was attacked before the other, at the intreaty of the citizens of Geneva, whom the king was glad of an opportunity to oblige. Upon our arrival at this fort, which is ſituated on a riſing ground, in an open field, of which it ſeems to be the centre, marechal Biron, who by chance was near me, aſked me to go that inſtant, on horſeback as we were, and reconnoitre the place with him. I told him that we were too gayly dreſſed, and had too many plumes on, to examine it in open day: for the marechal was mounted on a white horſe, and wore a large plume of feathers of the ſame colour. "No, "no," ſaid he, "you need not be under any ap- "prehenſion: morbieu! they will not dare to fire "upon us." "Let us go then," replied I, "if you "will, for if it rains upon me, it will ſprinkle upon

" you." Accordingly, we came within two hundred paces of the fort, and obſerved it a long time, while they only fired twelve or fifteen vollies of ſmall ſhot, and I believe in the air, although we were about twenty horſe; which ſurpriſed me greatly. " Certainly, ſir," ſaid I to the marechal, " there " is no one within, or they are aſleep, or afraid of " us." The king could with difficulty believe this, becauſe being there himſelf the day before, with ſix horſe only, they fired repeated vollies at his approach; and when I returned the next morning at the break of day, on foot, and with no other company than Erard and Feugeres, I was received with ſo great a noiſe of the artillery, that the king ſent Monteſpan thither, believing it was a ſally. " Whom " are theſe fellows aiming at?" ſaid Monteſpan to me, finding no-body in ſight. " At me, I be- " lieve," replied I, " but I have ſeen all that I " wanted to ſee." However, I gueſſed ſoon after the reaſon of that reſpect which they ſhewed marechal Biron. I perceived that the flanks of the baſtions of Saint-Catherine were ſo bad, that great part of them had fallen down, and that the ditch was in no better a condition. I aſſured his majeſty, that as ſoon as the trenches were carried to the extremity of the ditch the place would ſurrender. In effect, the beſieged, who were likewiſe in want of every thing, demanded to capitulate, if they were not ſuccoured in ſix days.

AFTER I had opened the trench, I deſired leave from the king to make a tour to Geneva: I arrived there the next day, with an hundred horſe, and came very ſeaſonably to relieve this city from the terrors which the preſence of a great number of catholics within their walls occaſioned. Meſſieurs de Guiſe, d'Elbeuf, d'Epernon, de Biron, de la Guiche, and many others, were there, with their ſeveral attendants. I aſſured them, that his majeſty had their intereſt at heart, and that I would not leave them while

while thoſe gentlemen continued amongſt them: but the remembrance of the late perſecutions was yet too recent in the minds of the citizens; they could not be ſatisfied till I had removed the occaſion of their fears; which I did that evening by ſpeaking to thoſe gentlemen, who all left Geneva the next day. The city deputed twelve of their chief citizens, with Beza, their miniſter, at their head, to compliment his majeſty, and to endeavour to obtain a requeſt that they kept very ſecret; this was, the demolition of fort Saint-Catherine, which they were moſt ardently deſirous of. Beza delivered himſelf like a man of ſenſe, and one who knew how to praiſe with delicacy; congratulating the proteſtants upon the happineſs which the reign of ſo good a prince promiſed them. Henry thanked the deputies and the city, offering to beſtow upon it any of his conqueſts which ſhould be moſt convenient for it; and preventing their requeſt, told them in a low voice, that they ſhould have the pleaſure to be maſters of the fate of fort Saint-Catherine; and that he gave them his word, in my preſence (for he held me by the hand at the ſame time) that no intreaties whatſoever ſhould hinder him from razing it. Upon which the deputies withdrew, extremely well pleaſed.

His majeſty, at cardinal Aldobrandin's requeſt, conſented that the conferences on the ſubject of a peace ſhould be held at Lyons, and appointed the cardinal Du-Perron, the conſtable, the chancellor, Villeroi, and Jeannin, to treat with the legate: they had yet come to no agreement, when the future queen * arrived in that city. As ſoon as the king

* This princeſs left Florence on the 17th of October, having embarked at Leghorn, and, with an eſcorte of ſeventeen galleys, landed at Toulon, from whence ſhe came by the way of Marſeilles and Avignon to Lyons, where the king arrived poſt on the 9th of November. As ſoon as he alighted (I take the following account from the moſt authentic Memoirs of thoſe times) the queen happened to be at ſupper; and having a deſire to ſee her at table without being diſcovered, he

was informed of it he quitted his quarters, and set out in very rainy weather, riding post, with great part of the lords of his court. It was twelve o'clock at night when we got to the bridge of Lyons, and waited there a full hour, wet through with rain, and almost perished with cold, before they would open the gate; for his majesty, that he might have the pleasure of surprizing the queen, would not suffer himself to be named. They had not yet seen each other. The marriage-ceremony was performed without any pomp. We attended the king at supper, who afterwards dismissed us to refresh ourselves likewise; and he retired to the queen's apartment.

His majesty's arrival only increased the warmth with which they contested the articles of the peace: the plenipotentiaries were almost all in the duke of Savoy's interest, and glad of an opportunity to make

he went in as far as the drawing-room, which was very much crouded; but he was known the moment he appeared by those nearest the door, who opened to make way for him: upon which, his majesty went away directly, without going farther. The queen, in the mean time, was well aware of all this, but still gave no other signs than by putting the plates away as often as she was served with any thing, and eat so little, that she seemed to have sat down rather for form's sake than to sup. After the table was removed, she returned immediately to her chamber. The king, who waited only for this, came to her chamber-door, and ordering M. le Grand to go before, he knocked so hard, that the queen thought it must be the king: upon this she stept forward at the very instant that M. le Grand entered the room, who was followed by his majesty, at whose feet she immediately threw herself. The king raised her up, embraced her with great tenderness, and all that was polite, passionate, and respectful, passed on both sides. After the first compliments were over, the king took her hand, and led her to the fire-place, where he continued talking with her above half an hour; he afterwards went to supper, but eat very sparingly. In the mean time, he bid madam de Nemours tell the queen, that he had not provided himself with a bed, expecting she would give him part of hers, which from that time was to be in common between them. Madam de Nemours carrying this message to the queen, she returned for answer, That she had come thither only to obey his majesty as the humblest of his servants. Upon this, the king undressed, and went directly to the queen's chamber, who by this time was in bed. Chronologie Septennaire, an. 1600, where also may be seen the particulars of the queen's journey, and her reception in the towns of France, &c. De Thou, liv. 125. Matthieu, tom. II. p. 378.

their

their court to the legate; which was the cauſe that Henry thought it neceſſary to make them give an account of their negotiation, and ſeverely blamed the commiſſioners for having exceeded the power that was given them. Bellievre and Villeroi had promiſed the legate, that none of the fortreſſes which had been taken ſhould be demoliſhed, but eſpecially Saint-Catherine, for which the legate particularly ſolicited, as being the beſt, and even the only bulwark the duke of Savoy had againſt the republic of Geneva. Henry made them ſenſible, that their precipitation in ſubſcribing to an article of this importance, without conſulting him, had given him ſome ſuſpicion of them; and added, that in a few days he would acquaint them with his intentions upon that head. Then ſending for me, he told me, that the ſhorteſt way to prevent the ſolicitation which he expected from the legate, would be to blow up the five baſtions of the fort, and to ſend word to the citizens of Geneva to come and complete the demolition of it. No order was ever more expeditiouſly nor more effectually executed. The Genevois, in one night, laid this citadel even with the ground, and carried away all the materials ſo carefully, that the next day it could with difficulty have been believed that there ever had been a fort in the place; and at firſt the report ran, that it was deſtroyed by lightning. When the truth was known, the legate expreſſed great reſentment at it, and did not ſcruple to confeſs, in the heat of his paſſion, that I was the only perſon who had not deceived him with flattering hopes on this head, and that he had not ſufficiently attended to my admonitions. But his having, upon the faith of the commiſſioners, given very different expectations to the pope, was what he was chiefly concerned at. For three or four days the negotiation was intirely broke off; and when it was afterwards reſumed, it was with ſo much animoſity on his eminency's part, that he rejected all the propoſitions that were made

made him. Theſe propoſitions were, That the duke of Savoy ſhould yield to the king the courſe of the river Rhone and its borders: That he ſhould not erect any fort within a league of it to favour the Spaniards paſſage: That he ſhould leave to the republic of Geneva the enjoyment of certain villages ſpecified likewiſe: That Béché-Dauphin * ſhould be demoliſhed, Chateau-Dauphin reſtored: and laſtly, that the duke ſhould pay an hundred and fifty thouſand crowns for the expences of the war.

THE king looking upon this affair as wholly impracticable, through the obſtinacy of the legate, reſolved to carry on the war more vigorouſly than before, and communicated his deſign to me, which was, to go in ſearch of the duke of Savoy at the head of his army; while I, with the artillery, battered the citadel of Bourg. Each of us had particular obſtacles to this double project, beſides the want of money, which was common to both. I found the enterpriſe on Bourg very difficult to be executed, the ſeaſon being now ſo far advanced: the difference between this caſtle and that of Montmelian, with which I think it may be compared, is this, that for thoſe that have only ten or twelve pieces of cannon, Montmelian is equivalent to ten ſuch places as Bourg, becauſe that the reduction of Montmelian depends upon having artillery ſufficient to batter the out-works; but for an army ſixty cannon ſtrong, the citadel of Montmelian is not more difficult to carry than that of Bourg; becauſe this laſt being more regular than the other, it can only be attacked methodically and by ſlow degrees. Had the counſel I gave, to attack this fort immediately after the ſurrender of Montmelian been followed, it would have been now in the king's poſſeſſion.

WITH regard to this prince, his perplexity was occaſioned by his knowing in what manner the great-

* Frontiers of Dauphiné.

eſt

eſt part of his general officers conſpired with Spain and the duke of Savoy againſt him: he had great reaſon to be apprehenſive of engaging himſelf in the enemy's country, if they were with him: Leſdiguieres was the only one on whom he could depend; he had lately given an inſtance of his fidelity, in ſending notice by Calignon, that the duke of Bouillon made uſe of a man named Ondevous to carry on his correſpondence with the great lords of the kingdom. It is certain, that if Calignon had been more diligent to acquit himſelf of his commiſſion, Ondevous would not have had time to eſcape as he did, and his detention might have laid open all the ſchemes of the ſeditious; but there is no appearance that this happened through the fault of Leſdiguieres. I adviſed the king to rely entirely upon him, and to bind him ſtill cloſer to his ſervice, by making him a marechal of France, and governor of Piedmont. As for the reſt, it was eaſy to prevent the conſequences of their ill intentions, by giving them employments at a diſtance from the body of the army.

But the affair that appeared moſt preſſing to us both being to procure a ſupply of money, it was reſolved that I ſhould ſet out for Paris in four days: and that I might be enabled to paſs ſix entire weeks there, I employed theſe four days in making all the neceſſary preparations for the attack of Bourg, in paying the ſoldiers out of what little money remained, and in providing for the ordinary as well as extraordinary expences of the king's houſhold. The very next day I ſent away my wife and my equipages before me, with directions to wait for me at Rouanne, where I propoſed, as ſoon as I arrived, to ſend them down the Loire as far as Orleans: they waited there for me three or four days longer, becauſe my meaſures were broke by the alterations that happened in the affair of the peace.

When I went to take leave of the king, he adviſed

viſed me to viſit the legate alſo before I ſet out, he having always expreſſed great eſteem for me. I went to viſit him booted, my poſt-horſes waiting for me on the other ſide of the river, oppoſite to his lodgings. He aſked me where I was going in that equipage? "To Italy, replied I, and I ſhall go with "good company to kiſs the pope's foot." "How! "to Italy," ſaid he in great amazement: "no, "that muſt not be, ſir; I beg you will aſſiſt me to "renew this peace." I ſeemed to conſent, in reſpect only to his mediation, the king having laid aſide all thoughts of it. I repeated, in a few words, all the principal articles that had been already propoſed, and afterwards aſked him if he would give credit to what I was going to ſay to him? Having aſſured me he would, I told him, that he might be abſolutely certain, that of theſe articles, his majeſty would abate none of his demands with regard to the borders of the Rhone, the villages in the neighbourhood of Geneva, Chateau-Dauphin, and Beche-Dauphin; becauſe I was well acquainted with the king's intentions in all theſe reſpects. He deſired to know my reaſons: which I excuſed myſelf from telling him, on account of the ſhort time I had to ſtay. After walking thoughtfully ſeveral times backwards and forwards in his chamber, he aſked me, if, with the ſame proteſtations of ſincerity, I would aſſure him, that, provided he agreed to all theſe points, there ſhould be no mention made of the other. I told him, that I believed I might promiſe this. Upon which, he entreated me to go and acquaint the king with what he had ſaid. Henry was glad to ſee me come back: and I returned a moment afterwards to the legate with full powers from his majeſty. And we concluded that * inſtant a

* M. De Thou, Matthieu, and La Chron. Sept. agree with this account, ib. an. 1601. See alſo the treaty in the Mem. de Nevers, tom. II. p. 775, &c.

treaty which had languiſhed ſo long a time; the conditions of which were as follow:

THE duke of Savoy, in exchange for the marquiſate of Saluces, which the king of France gave up, was to make a ceſſion to his majeſty of the fortreſſes of Cental, Monts, and Roqueſparviere, all Breſſe entirely, the borders and country of the Rhone on both ſides as far as Lyons, except the bridge of Grezin, and ſome paſſages neceſſary for his highneſs to enter Franche-Comté; but he was not by this ceſſion to acquire a right to raiſe any tribute from theſe places, or to build any fort there, or to ferry troops over, but by the king's permiſſion, and on condition that for this privilege of paſſing the bridge of Grezin the duke ſhould pay France one hundred thouſand crowns: That he ſhould likewiſe reſign to his majeſty the citadel of Bourg, the bailiwic of Getx, Chateau-Dauphin and its dependencies, with all that could be comprehended in the province of Dauphiné on this ſide the Alps: That he ſhould likewiſe renounce the property of Aus, Chouſy, Vally, Pont d'Atley, Seiſſel, Chana, and Pierre-Chatel, to the borders of Geneva: That the fortifications of Beche-Dauphin ſhould be razed: That the king ſhould on his ſide reſtore all the other forts he had taken which are not ſpecified here, withdrawing the artillery and ammunition that were then placed there. The other articles related to criminals and priſoners of war that had fled on either ſide, church benefices, exchange of eſtates between private perſons, &c. It was articled for the duke of Nemours, part of whoſe eſtate lay in this country, that he ſhould not be diſturbed in the poſſeſſion of it, neither for the part which he held of the king, nor for that which he held of his highneſs. The other clauſes common to all treaties I ſhall not mention.

NOTWITHSTANDING this treaty was ſigned by me for the king, by the legate for the pope, and the duke of Savoy's agents, yet the duke, influenced by the

the count of Fuentes, put off so long the entire conclusion of it, by his complaints and delays, that the king thought it necessary not to lay down his arms: he took post to Paris †, where he waited for the duke's determinations.

In case there should be a necessity for his returning into Savoy, he had certain measures to take for the affairs within this kingdom, and in Paris especially, at a time when every place was filled with malecontents. He left the constable and Lesdiguieres, till his return, with some good troops upon that frontier; and Villeroi and two or three other commissioners at Lyons, to conclude the business of the peace.

But his majesty found no occasion to return into these provinces. The duke of Savoy, after having long amused himself with expectations from the disaffected French lords, gave place to more prudent thoughts; and reflecting on what he had already lost by his obstinacy, he thought himself very happy to accept the treaty in the form already mentioned; accordingly the last formalities were added, and the peace was published at Paris and Turin with the usual ceremonies: however, the articles were not executed without many difficulties being raised by the duke of Savoy, which detained Villeroi at Lyons part of the following year: it was not till then that every thing was entirely agreed to; and Spain, who had taken great interest in the affair, even advised the duke of Savoy to comply with the articles of the

† "He departed, says Bassompierre, one night post from Lyons, "in order to turn to Paris; and embarking at Rouanne he landed "at Briare; from whence he came to lye at Fontainebleau, and "next day dined at Villeneuve; and crossing the Seine below the "Tuilleries, came in the evening to Verneuil (afterwards Senlis.) "We continued three days at Verneuil, and then came to Paris.--- "At length the queen arrived at Nemours; and the king, having "rode post with sixty fresh horses, came and carried her to Fontaine- "bleau, where after staying five or six days, she arrived at Paris, and "was accommodated with apartments at the house of Gondy." Mem. de Bassompierre, tom. I. p. 89, 90.

treaty.

treaty. On all these occasions Henry paid great deference to the pope. He granted all the delays which the duke of Savoy, by count Octavio Tassone, engaged the legate to demand; which was contrary to Villeroi's advice: but his majesty, having in reality obtained all that he could demand, thought he ought not to observe too rigorously the manner it was yielded to him, nor hazard, for such a trifle, a renewal of the war. This produced as many advantages to the king as any war ended in a single campaign could possibly do. His majesty declared, that Bresse should not be comprehended in the district of Lyons, but it should be re-united to Burgundy, under the jurisdiction of the court of aides at Paris.

The queen did not set out immediately after for Paris. She had brought with her her uncle Don John, a bastard of the family of Medicis, Virgilius Ursinus, her cousin, who being brought up while young with her had conceived hopes above his condition. Many more Italians of both sexes were in her train; amongst others, a young man named Conchini, and a girl called Leonora Galigai, who afterwards played a great part in France. I went to Paris eight days before the queen, to make preparations for the ceremony of her entry ‡, which was performed with great magnificence. The next day, the king brought the queen and the whole court to the arsenal to dine with me; the queen was attended by all her Italian ladies, who being pleased with the

‡ It does not appear that this princess was complimented with the ceremony of a public entry into Paris. The citizens, says the Chronologie Septennaire, would have prepared a very magnificent one for her, and addressed the king for that purpose; but his majesty chose rather that the expence of the entry should be laid out on other things that were more necessary. It afterwards adds: Upon her arrival at the postern-gate of the suburb St. Marcel, the marquis de Rosny caused all the cannon of the arsenal to be fired three times. She was carried in a litter along the moats of the city, and that day lodged at the suburb S. Germain, at Gondy's house, and the next at Zamet's, and after that at the Louvre. Ibid.

wine

wine of Arbois, drank more of it than was neceſſary. I had ſome excellent white wine that was as clear as rock water: I ordered ſome decanters to be filled with it, and when the ladies aſked for water to temper the burgundy, they were preſented with this liquor. The king ſuſpected by their gaiety that I had played them a trick. This winter was wholly taken up with parties of pleaſure, on account of the king's marriage.

In Flanders, this year, the war broke out with great violence, prince Maurice of Orange gained a battle in the month of May againſt the arch-duke Albert, in which the † admiral of Caſtile, the man on whom he chiefly depended, was taken priſoner. He afterwards laid ſiege to Nieuport, but was obliged to raiſe it. All I ſhall ſay of the war between the Emperor and the Grand Signior in Hungary, is, that the duke of Mercœur was made lieutenant-general here by his imperial majeſty. I ſuppreſs a detail of the grandeur and magnificence of the ſecular ‡ jubilee at Rome, and ſhall conclude the Memoirs of this year with an incident that afforded matter for much ſerious reflection upon duels: Breauté having * killed his adverſary in a very uncommon combat, was afterwards aſſaſſinated himſelf.

† This was the battle of Nieuport, that was fought in the month of July, wherein the Spaniards loſt 8000 men. The prince of Orange was nevertheleſs obliged to raiſe the ſiege of Nieuport, and retire to Holland. The greateſt part of theſe foreign tranſactions are neither fully nor exactly related in our Memoirs; and I therefore think it unneceſſary to give an account of them in the notes, but rather refer the reader to the Memoirs and Hiſtorians of that time. In like manner conſult the general and particular accounts of the military expeditions between the armies of the emperor and the Grand Signior, which are mentioned here.

‡ It was ſaid, that 300,000 French men and women, went to Rome, to obtain the indulgence of the jubilee; concerning which, ſee the ceremonies in La Septennarie, an. 1600, and other Memoirs of that time.

* Charles de Breauté, a French gentleman of Caux, captain of a troop of horſe in the ſervice of the States; his antagoniſt was a Flemiſh ſoldier, lieutenant of a company under the governor of Boiſleduc, with whom he fought a ſingular kind of combat, of twenty French againſt

BOOK XII.

IN the foregoing book I finiſhed the laſt military narration that will be found in theſe Memoirs, in which at leaſt France was concerned. The life of Henry the Great, hitherto wholly paſſed amidſt the tumult of arms, will in the ſequel exhibit only the actions of a pacific king, and the father of a family. The manner in which the campaign in Savoy had been conducted and terminated, leaving no room to fear that the peace would be again infringed by theſe ancient enemies of the monarchy, or that it would not ſubſiſt as long as his majeſty pleaſed, I reſumed, by his orders, and under his inſpection, thoſe ſchemes with regard to the finances that the war had ſuſpended, and were now to meet with no more interruption. After the repreſentation I have already given of the ſtate of affairs within the kingdom, it would be injurious to conſider the life which the prince and myſelf now embraced as idle and inactive: if it is leſs noiſy and tumultuous, it is probably more laborious. Behold me therefore again ſhut up in my cloſet, where I applied myſelf with the utmoſt attention to the examination of all the abuſes that ſtill remained to be rooted out of the chamber of accounts ‡; the offices of the finances, the crown lands, the aids, the ſubſidies, the equivalents, the five large farms, the tenths, and all the reſt. I laboured at once for the preſent and the future, by taking ſuch meaſures, that the method I eſtabliſhed in the direction of every part of the finances ſhould

againſt the ſame number of Flemiſh; he had the advantage in the firſt encounter, in which he killed his antagoniſt, but was made priſoner in the ſecond, and put to death by order of the governor of Boiſleduc. He was one, ſays the author of the Chronologie Septennairre, that eagerly ſought after occaſions of duelling, for which reaſon he had been obliged to quit the court of France.

‡ As to theſe reformations, conſult likewiſe Matthieu, tom. II. liv. iii. p. 444.

not

not be afterwards subject to any alterations. I considered of means to enrich the king without impoverishing his subjects, to pay his debts, repair his palaces; and strove, with still more assiduity, to complete the art of fortifying his cities, than that of attacking and defending them; and to make provision of arms and ammunition. I extended my cares to the repairing and renewing public works, such as roads, bridges, keys of rivers, and other buildings, which reflect no less honour upon the sovereign than the splendor of his own palaces, and are of general utility: for which purpose I began to look into the application that had been made of the money granted for those uses to the cities and corporations, or rather into the frauds that had been used in the management of these funds.

The scheme of drawing up an account of every part of the finances, under the title of a general state, which should lay down their nature uniformly and clearly, seemed always so happy a thought, and so proper to bring them to the utmost exactness, that wherever this method was practicable I made use of it. On the first day of this year, when I presented to the king the gold and silver medals, as usual, I gave him at the same time five of these general states, each of which related to one or other of my employments, bound up in one volume very neatly. In the first, which was of the greatest importance, because I there gave an account of all that concerned myself, as superintendant, was set down on one side, all the money that was raised in France by the king from every tax whatever; on the other, all that was to be deducted for the charge of collection, and consequently all that was to be brought clear into his majesty's coffers. I cannot persuade myself that this method was never thought of by any one since the finances were subject to some regulation; but interest alone prevented the execution of it. However that may be, I shall always insist upon it, that without this

this guide there is no proceeding without miſtakes or roguery.

THE ſecond of theſe ſtates was drawn up merely for the uſe of the keeper of the royal treaſury; here was ſet down, whence and upon what account he received all the king's money that paſſed through his hands during the year of his office, and how much he was at liberty to diſburſe out of the whole ſum, and for what purpoſes. The third was compiled for the uſe of the maſter of the ordnance, containing an exact account of money received and expended; with a true inventory of all that relates to the artillery; the number and ſorts of cannon, and of other arms, the quantity of inſtruments of war, and proviſions of victual, laid up in different places, or magazines; the ſtate of the arſenals, and fortified places; and other obſervations of the ſame ſort. The fourth related to the chief ſurveyor of the roads, and gave an account of all the money diſburſed or to be diſburſed for the repair of every thing under his charge, whether it was to be done at the expence of the king or of the provinces. And, to conclude, the fifth contained a catalogue of cities and caſtles, particularly thoſe on the frontiers, that required any money to be laid out upon them; with a kind of rough draught of the works neceſſary at each place, formed with due regard to their natural ſituation and preſent ſtate.

THE king, upon my repreſentation, reformed many abuſes with reſpect to money, which had cauſed a decay of commerce, of which money is the chief inſtrument; the firſt was the practice which was then allowed, of putting money to intereſt at eight, or even at ten per Cent. * a practice of equal miſ-

* It is thus that a prince, in our times, remarkable for his abilities and ſuperior ſkill in politics, has judged: being firmly perſuaded, that the ſtate would receive great advantages in every reſpect from a regulation that would oblige monied men to betake themſelves to commerce and agriculture, which are infinitely preferable to the bare and dead produce of rents.

chief to the nobility and the people; to the nobility, becauſe they, being forbidden to engage in trade, have no other riches but the produce of their grounds, of which the price was brought down by high intereſt; to the people, becauſe, by putting out money to intereſt, they made as great profit by ſitting ſtill as by labour, and thereby kept immenſe ſums of money uſeleſs to the public, which, without that method of growing rich, they would have improved by ſome means advantageous to the commonwealth. The intereſt of eight per Cent. was aboliſhed, and ſix per Cent. allowed in its ſtead.

THE coin of different countries was till this time current in France, and paſſed in commerce equally with that of our own ſovereign. A prohibition was iſſued, by which all money was put down but the coin of France *, that of Spain only excepted, which would have been too much miſſed in commerce had it been at once forbidden. But it was more neceſſary to rid ourſelves of the merchandiſe of our neighbours than of their money, for the whole kingdom was filled with their manufactures; and it is incredible how much miſchief was done by foreign ſtuffs, particularly thoſe of gold and ſilver. The importation of theſe, and of all others, was forbidden under ſevere penalties: and becauſe France had no means of ſupplying herſelf with them out of her own ſtock, we had recourſe to the true remedy, which is,

* It is true, that the ſpecies of foreign gold and ſilver coin ought not to paſs current and be confounded with that of the prince in interior commerce, and in payments made between individuals; but is it not evident, that the more ſuch coin abounds among our own money, the more flouriſhing will our commerce be? The hiſtorian Matthieu obſerves, tom. II. l. iii. p. 446. that this prohibition made the commerce in France fall almoſt entirely: and the duke of Sully himſelf agrees, a little lower, that he was obliged to have recourſe to other means to retrieve it. We will examine this queſtion with him, when he comes to handle it, in the following book. As to the prohibition of uſing gold and ſilver in cloaths and houſhold furniture, we ſhall alſo have occaſion, in the ſequel, to give our opinion on the principles he eſtabliſhes with regard to luxury.

to do without them; the use of all stuffs wrought with gold and silver being forbidden by an edict †.

All these declarations tended to introduce one, by which it was forbidden to carry any species of money out of the kingdom, under the penalty of a confiscation of all that should be intercepted in the carriage, and likewise of all the estates of the offenders, as well those that favoured as those that were guilty of the infringement of this law. The king gave a public proof how much he had this affair at heart, by the oath he made not to grant any pardon for this sort of misdemeanors; and even to hold all those suspected that should dare to solicit him to the contrary: yet all this could only oblige those persons that carried on such practices to conceal them more carefully. I was of opinion, that one example would be more efficacious in correcting this obstinate evil than all the threats that had been published against it. I was not ignorant that a great many very considerable persons, and even amongst the courtiers themselves, made a fund out of this pernicious traffic, either by suffering this money to pass under their names, or by selling at a high price, the authority which enabled them to correspond with the foreigners, and secured the privileges of passage. I thought it most prudent to apply myself to those who were employed by them for these correspondences, and promised them that, as a recompence for their discovery, they should have the fourth part of those sums that were seized by their informations; for the king having made over these confiscations to me, I had a right to dispose of them. By these means I was well served.

A month was scarce elapsed, when I received

† He shewed, by his example, how to retrench the superfluity of dress, for he commonly went clad in a coat of grey cloth, with only a pourpoint of sattin or taffety, without any indented edgings, lace, or embroidery: he commended such as dressed in that plain fashion, and ridiculed others, who carried, said he, their windmills and their old woods on their backs. Peref. part iii.

notice from an inconſiderable man, the authors not being willing to make themſelves known, that there were two hundred thouſand crowns in gold collecting to ſend abroad, which was to be ſent at two different times, and that the firſt carriage would be much leſs than the ſecond. After having taken all the neceſſary precautions, this ſum appearing rather too conſiderable for me, I thought myſelf obliged to mention it to the king, who made this qualification in the right he had given me, that if the ſum did not exceed ten thouſand crowns, I might appropriate it to myſelf, but that the overplus ſhould be his, "Which will come, ſaid he, very ſeaſonably, having "had ſome loſs at play that I durſt not tell you of, "nor make up with my own money." I was not mercenary enough to wait for the profits of the ſecond carriage. I ordered the firſt to be dogged, and with ſuch vigilance, that it was ſtopped half a league beyond the territories of France. It could not be done in the kingdom, tho' but a quarter of a league from the frontier, without furniſhing the offenders with a pretext for getting it releaſed. There was found in piſtoles, double piſtoles, and crowns of the ſun, to the amount of eight and forty thouſand crowns, which had been concealed in ſome bales of common goods for exportation. The king's reſolution on this article was ſo well known, that the conductors named no perſon as proprietor of it; and notwithſtanding all the noiſe this ſeizure made at court, it was diſavowed by every one; and this ſum was, by his majeſty, divided in this manner: ſeventy-two thouſand livres he reſerved for himſelf, five and twenty thouſand he ordered ſhould be given to the informer, and the remaining forty-ſeven thouſand he left to me; promiſing me, that however large any future capture might be, he would take no part of it from me. But after this, no more money was attempted to be carried out of the kingdom; this example had given a general diſlike to ſo ruinous a traffic.

THOSE

THOSE that composed the chamber of justice † which was erected against the contractors, treasurers, receivers, and others who had been guilty of misdemeanors in their offices, were likely, in appearance, to exercise far greater severities. It was my advice, that these offenders should not only be obliged to refund, but that those who were convicted of embezzling the public treasure should be corporally punished. Money however, the possession of which covers all crimes it is the cause of, excepted this from the just rigour of the law ‡. I would, were it possible, transfuse into the breasts of my countrymen some part of that indignation that fills mine, against so pernicious an abuse, and all that contempt which I feel for those that owe their elevation to it. If we consider as a slight matter, the despicable light we appear in to our neighbours by this shameful custom (for none strikes more directly at the honour of the nation) we cannot conceal from ourselves the evils it has given rise to; nothing has contributed more towards perverting our ideas of probity, candor, and disinterestedness, or to turn those virtues into ridicule; nothing has more strengthened that fatal propensity to luxury, which is natural to all men, but is with us become a second nature, by that peculi-

† Otherwise called the royal chamber: it consisted of a president of the parliament of Paris, two counsellors, two masters of request, a president and four counsellors of the chamber of accounts, a president and three counsellors of the court of aids, and one of the general advocates of the parliament, &c. Commissioners were sent into the provinces, to give them informations of such as were guilty of any malversations.

‡ The duke of Sully seems to me to reason justly, when, in supposing the utility of the chambers of justice, he requires, that they should not confine their proceedings to pecuniary mulcts only, but join to these corporal punishments. And he seems to me to have still greater reason, when, in the sequel, he advises to suppress this method as absolutely useless; and entirely abolish, in France, the usage of compositions in farming the finances: and this is likewise the opinion of cardinal Richelieu. Testament Polit. part I. ch. iv. § 5.

arity of temper, which makes us fasten eagerly upon every thing that can gratify our passions; and nothing in particular has so greatly degraded the French nobility, as the rapid and dazzling fortunes of contractors and other men of business, by that opinion which they have circulated every where, and which is indeed but too well grounded, that in France this is almost the only method of arriving at the highest honours, and first employments of the state, in the possession of which all is forgot, and to the attainment all is permitted.

To go to the source, military virtue is almost the only quality by which true nobility can, in France, be obtained, preserved, or dignified: and in this practice there will be found no prejudice or empty opinion, if it be considered, that precedence must naturally be granted to that rank, by which all other classes of the community are preserved and supported in that security without which there can be no property: but this state of life is not the way to a great fortune; this simplicity and separation from lucrative purposes shew the antiquity and purity of the first institution. By bravery nothing but honours could be got, because in those times honour was the only reward of glorious actions: in later days, since the notions of mankind are changed, and every thing is rated by the money which it brings, this generous body of nobility is brought in comparison with the managers of the revenue, the officers of justice, and the drudges of business. But this comparison terminates in an universal agreement, to pay to these gatherers of money that respect which must always be shewn to those who are possessed of power, and are, in fact, our superiors, an advantage which the former have lost *. And, in-

* The same cardinal Richelieu complains of this abuse, and proposes a remedy for it, according to the duke of Sully's scheme. "Gentlemen, says he, cannot be promoted to places of trust and dignity, but at the expence of their ruin; for at present all sorts of people,

deed, how should it be otherwise, when we see the nobility of the same mind, with regard to this point,

" people are admitted to them through the infamous traffic carried on " by means of money. For the future, all persons should be excluded " from those posts, but those that have the good fortune to be of noble " birth." This minister concludes, in another place, after M. de Sully, " That the means of continuing the nobility in that purity of " manners which they derive from their ancestors (these are his words) " is to retrench that luxury and intolerable expence which have been " gradually introduced." Part I. ch. iii. § 1. However, the impartiality which I profess obliges me to agree, that the notions of the duke of Sully are overstrained; and that in this passage there is a little of what may be called invective and idle declamation. I anticipate a remark, which we shall have occasion to make in what follows, and that is, the alterations which have happened in the political state of Europe from different conjunctures, and especially from the spirit of commerce, which at this day seems to animate it, have obliged states to recede a little from these old maxims which relate to luxury and expence: and therefore what follows seems to me to be the most reasonable method upon the whole. It is true, that that profession which has for its end the defence of the state, ought to be in the possession of its principal dignities; or, which is much to the same purpose, all manner of regard, honour, and respect, should be paid to them. The duke of Sully has therefore good reason to observe, that of all the professions this has most to fear from luxury and effeminacy. Hence that reluctance officers shew to reside with their regiments: and that aversion of the young nobility to a study, which ought entirely to engage their attention. Hence that Asiatic pomp of high living, and those excessive pleasures into which armies are usually plunged. Hence it follows, that soldiers, who from their youth have been only habituated to debauchery, are unable to undergo the fatigues and inconveniences of a campaign. And, lastly, we will farther agree with M. de Sully, that the abuses accruing from unequal marriages, are at this day carried to an almost shameful height; and that, in general, we have too much neglected a piece of policy, which has always been looked upon, and that with very good reason, as one of the principal foundations of the strength of a state, a strict attention in making matrimony be honoured and respected. But after all these concessions, we must likewise agree, that one of the chief cares of a sovereign being to maintain and strengthen unanimity between his subjects, by banishing jealousies from among the different ranks, and the mutual animosities of the several orders towards each other, and war not being, as formerly, the true, and even the only means, of rendering a kingdom flourishing, the greatest part of the maxims laid down with this view are unsupported. Would it not be much fitter to oblige the numerous families to divide themselves equally among the different employments in the army, the navy, the church, and commerce, and to permit the nobility to engage in trade, as a means without which it will henceforth be impossible for the great families to support themselves? We will resume the handling this subject pretty often; but

as the meaneſt of the people, and making no ſcruple to mingle the moſt illuſtrious blood in a ſhameful alliance with a dirty pedlar, who knows nothing but the change, his ſhop, his counter, and his knavery? This abuſe is neceſſarily productive of two others, confuſion of ranks, and degeneracy of families; which laſt is better proved by experience than argument. We need only take a view of that great number of mongril gentry with which the court and city is filled, and we ſhall find them wholly deſtitute of the plain and manly virtue of their anceſtors; no depth of thought, no ſolidity of judgment, raſh, inconſiderate, a ſtrong paſſion for play, a natural propenſity to diſſoluteneſs, a ſolicitude for dreſs, and vitiated taſte in every kind of luxury; that one would imagine they thought to exceed even the women in the effeminacy of their manners: yet theſe people engage in the army, but with ſuch diſpoſitions, to which is often added a ſecret contempt for the profeſſion they embrace, what can be expected from them? This ſubverſion of all order is indeed to be lamented, but is inevitable, while that profeſſion, which has only glory for its object, is not exalted to the higheſt rank, and dignified with the chiefeſt honours, which, for that purpoſe, ought to be taken

it is certain, in general, that a moderate degree of attention is ſufficient to make it plain, that the maxims of government, as to politics and commerce, ſhould not at preſent be abſolutely the ſame as they were a thouſand years ago. It may be imagined, that as to the alterations neceſſary to be made in all theſe reſpects, we could not do better than rely upon the various conjunctures, and the natural diſpoſitions, which render all mankind ſo clear-ſighted with regard to their own intereſt and welfare. However, a fatal experience has but too well taught us, how dangerous it is to leave to the giddy multitude the choice of the means how to arrive at it. Of theſe alterations there are ſome which ought to accompany, or follow, and be naturally ſubordinate to, each other; a thing which the rabble can neither diſcern nor reliſh. There is in every thing exceſs or abuſe which they can neither foreſee nor prevent. And this is the great point in the art of government, an art which requires continual application and attention. The hand of the pilot is not neceſſary to bear up the veſſel upon the waves; but without it, ſhe will in the end be daſhed againſt rocks, or at leaſt never be able to reach her wiſhed for port.

from

from the upſtarts of Fortune; and ſince the infamy which we ſhould find theſe creatures of chance ſtained with, if we took pains to examine them, is not ſufficient to draw our contempt, it is neceſſary they ſhould be branded with public marks of diſgrace, to ſignify the rank they ought to hold.

The king was convinced by the juſtneſs of this reaſoning. However, in this chamber of juſtice, the ſame thing happened that generally does: the little rogues paid for all the reſt; the principal delinquents found their ſecurity in that very metal for which they were proſecuted; they made uſe of a ſmall part of it in preſents, which ſaved the other. This qualifying would not have prevailed with the king had it been employed directly; but it found acceptance with the ladies of the court, and even with the queen herſelf; they gained the conſtable, Bouillon, Bellegarde, Roquelaure, Souvré, Frontenac, and ſome others, who, though not of this high claſs, knew as well how to work upon the king's inclinations; ſuch were Zamet, La Varenne, Gondy, Boneuil, Conchini, and many more of that ſort. The complaiſance of this prince for all thoſe whom he ſuffered to live in ſome degree of familiarity with him, and eſpecially for ladies, deſtroyed all his wiſe reſolutions, ſo that the ſtorm fell only upon thoſe that had reaſon to reproach themſelves with not having yet ſtolen enough to put their thefts in ſecurity. The retrenching of part of thoſe officers of all ranks, with which the bar and the finances abounded, and which was done at this time, was looked upon as the work of the chamber of juſtice. The great number of thoſe officers, as well as their extreme licentiouſneſs, are indubitable teſtimonies of the calamities that are introduced into a ſtate, and the forerunners of its ruin.

In May the king and queen had the devotion to celebrate the jubilee at Orleans. I attended their majeſties as far as half a league beyond Fontainebleau,

from whence they proceeded that evening to Puiſeaux. I took advantage of this little vacation, to viſit the lands of Baugy, which had been juſt awarded to me by a decree, for the great ſums which were due to me from theſe lands, and upon which I began to build immediately with the confiſcated money I have lately mentioned. I was ſtopped within two leagues from the place where I intended to lie, by a courier from his majeſty, who called out to me while I was yet a great way before him. He brought me a letter from the king which contained only theſe few words. "I gave you ſix days for your "journey to Baugy, but I have received letters of "great conſequence from Buzenval, which I want "to ſhew you; you will oblige me if you will come "and lie to-night here at Puiſeaux, whither you "need bring no neceſſaries. I have given orders "for your lodging, and ſent thither my hunting-"bed, and have ordered Coquet to get your ſupper "ready, and your breakfaſt in the morning, for I "will detain you no longer. Adieu, my beloved "friend."

I WISHED my wife, who accompanied me, a good night, and taking with me only two gentlemen, a page, and a valet de chambre, and one groom, I turned back to Puiſeaux, where I found the king, who was amuſing himſelf with ſeeing the youth of his train wreſtle and leap in the court-yard of the priory. As ſoon as he ſaw me, he called Paſquier, who had been ſent to him by Villeroi with Buzenval's letters, which informed the king that prince Maurice had taken the field with his army, which he had increaſed with garriſons drawn out of their quarters, and eſcorted by two thouſand waggons: that, with this army, he intended (as Buzenval had learned from the prince of Orange's officers, and from the prince himſelf) to croſs Brabant, the county of Leige, Hainault, and Artois, to gain by it the rivers along the frontiers of France, from whence he

expected

expected assistance, and bring the war to the neighbourhood of Gravelines, Berque-Saint-Vinox, Dunkirk, and Nieuport; that the archduke, greatly inferior to the prince of Orange, not having yet received the troops which he expected from Italy and Germany, beheld those preparations with astonishment, and durst not oppose his march, but that he contented himself with being near him, that he might oblige him to keep in a narrow compass, and that while he obstructed him he might be himself near the place where he perceived the storm would fall; that, finding this step, which had been communicated to him, of great importance, he thought it was necessary to inform the king of it.

THE knowledge I had of the Low Countries made this design of the prince of Orange appear to me so dangerous, that I thought it likely to draw upon him a total defeat. He would be obliged to march a great way within view of the enemy and upon their frontiers, through countries so full of woods, hedges, and hollow ways, particularly in Liégois, that I thought them impassable for such a number of waggons; and the king was of the same opinion. After we had conferred together a long time, he resolved to send prince Maurice his sentiments of it, and I resumed my rout to Baugy, in which I visited the lands of Sully, that I had a design of purchasing and did so accordingly the following year. The king continued his pilgrimage to Orleans, and laid there the first stone for the rebuilding of the church of the Holy Cross: he afterwards returned to Paris, to which place I had come three days before his majesty.

HENRY's letters changed the design of Nassau; he besieged Rhimberg*, and took it on the tenth of June. The archduke Albert, in revenge, invested Ostend on † the fifth of July. Maurice, on his side, laid

* On the Rhine.

† It will be often mentioned; this siege, in which many brave

siege to Bolduc, either to force the archduke to abandon his enterprize, or to indemnify himself by the reduction of this place, which was looked upon to be the most important fortress in Brabant. I was still of opinion that he would do neither; and when the king sent for me to hear my sentiments of it in the presence of the courtiers who were by when the pacquet which brought the news was opened, and who all spoke differently of it, I said that, although I was very young when I had visited Bolduc, I had nevertheless preserved the remembrance of the place; and, that not to mention its situation, which rendered the siege of it a work of immense labour, it seemed to me impossible, considering the extent of the place and the great number of its citizens, to surround it in such a manner as to hinder any one from going in or out, at least without an army of twenty-five thousand men. In effect, the prince of Orange failed in his attempt upon Bolduc: but all this did not happen till November.

The war breaking out so near our frontiers, made Henry resolve to go to Calais, as if he had no other design but to visit that country. Although he always suspected the Spaniards, he was not apprehensive, in the present state of the affairs of that crown, that they would be prevailed on to break the peace: but he was not displeased at having an opportunity to give them a little uneasiness, in revenge for the daily occasions of discontent which he received from them. They acted, indeed, in a manner sufficient to have obliged his majesty to do something more, had not policy prevailed over resentment. After many fruitless attempts to break the alliance between the Swiss cantons and France, and to hinder the pope from acting as arbitrator in the dispute about the marquisate of Saluces, because his holi-

actions were performed on both sides, having lasted above three years; but for a minute detail of them consult M. De Thou, Le Septennaire, and other historians.

ness

neſs could not diſpenſe with himſelf for giving judgment againſt the duke of Savoy, they had ſent troops to that prince in the laſt campaign, under the command of the count de Fuentes. Their continued intrigues with marechal Biron, Bouillon, D'Auvergne, the prince of Joinville, were publicly known. Biron himſelf had confeſſed it to his majeſty; and laſtly, the king, at his return from Orleans, received certain intelligence of their practices with the cities of Metz, Marſeilles, and Bayonne.

At all this his majeſty diſſembled his diſpleaſure; but nothing provoked him againſt that crown ſo much, as the outrage which La Rochepot *, our ambaſſador at Madrid, his nephew, and his whole train had received from that court. La Rochepot gave an account of it in his letters. "I ſwear by "heaven," ſaid Henry tranſported with rage, "that, "if I can but once ſee my affairs in order, and get "a ſufficient ſupply of money, and whatever elſe is "neceſſary, I will make ſo furious a war upon them, "that they ſhall repent of having obliged me to "take arms." However, he ſtill ſhut his eyes upon ſo daring a violation of the rights of nations, but it was not without doing great violence to his inclinations. "I ſee plainly," ſaid this prince to me ſometimes, "that through emulation, jealouſy, "and intereſt of ſtate, France and Spain can never "be on friendly terms with each other, and that a "proper ſecurity againſt that crown muſt have ſome "other foundation than words." He was ſuffici-

† Antony de Selly, count de la Rochepot. His nephew happening to bathe himſelf with ſome French gentlemen, was inſulted by ſome Spaniards, who flung his cloaths, and thoſe of his companions into the river. Theſe revenged themſelves for the affront by killing and wounding ſome of the Spaniards; thoſe that fled ſoon after returned to force open the ambaſſador's houſe, and thence dragged his nephew to priſon, with others of his aſſociates that had taken ſhelter there. This difference was compromiſed by the pope, who cauſed the priſoners to be ſent to him to Rome, and delivered them to the count de Bethune, brother to M. de Sully, ambaſſador of France at that court. See the above mentioned hiſtorians for the year 1601.

ently

ently convinced of the error in Villeroi and Sillery's policy, who often, in his preſence, maintained againſt me, that a ſtrict union with Spain was not only neither impoſſible nor dangerous for France, but likewiſe the moſt reaſonable ſyſtem of politics that ought to be embraced. To their arguments I oppoſed that competition ſo natural to theſe two crowns, the oppoſition of their intereſts, and the remembrance of ſo many recent injuries; and I concluded that, with a neighbour ſo artful and unjuſt, the neceſſary meaſures to be taken were to hold them always ſuſpected, and to be always prepared for defence. The laſt news that came from Madrid gave me, for this time, the advantage over my opponents, at leaſt in the king's opinion, who heſitated no longer about going to Oſtend, after he had diſmiſſed two celebrated embaſſies, which he received about this time.

ONE of theſe embaſſies was from the grand ſeignior, who, knowing that the ſophy of Perſia his enemy had ſent a ſolemn deputation to the pope, the emperor, and the king of Spain, without taking any notice of the king of France, againſt whom he ſeemed to make an overture of his aſſiſtance at the ſame time that he aſked for theirs, he was returning one act for another. His highneſs, on this occaſion, made uſe of his phyſician, who * was a chriſtian, and inveſted him with the dignity of his ambaſſador. The terms in which this haughty potentate expreſſed himſelf, with regard to the French †, diſcovered a diſtinction and reſpect, of which there are few ex-

* Bartholemew Cœur, a renegado of Marſeilles. He demanded of the king that the duke of Mercœur ſhould be recalled from Hungary, becauſe, among the propheſies which the Turks believe, there is one, they ſay, that the French ſhall drive the Turks out of Europe.

† To the moſt glorious, moſt magnanimous, and moſt illuſtrious prince of the faith of Jeſus . . . the compoſer of the differences that happen between chriſtian potentates, prince of grandeur, majeſty, and opulence, and the glorious leader of the greateſt ſubjects, Henry the IVth emperor of France; ſuch were the titles which his highneſs gave the king. MSS. de la Bibliotheque du Roi, vol. 9592.

amples;

amples; he set a higher value, he said, upon the friendship and arms of the French, than of all the other christian nations together; and that although they should all unite with Persia against him, he should think himself in a condition to dispise their attempts, as soon as he had secured the alliance and assistance of a king, whose superiority over all his neighbours, as well as his great personal qualities, he appeared not to be ignorant of. The Turkish ambassador presented his majesty with several rich presents, and gave me two scymetars of exquisite workmanship, which I keep with great care.

The other ambassador was from the republic of Venice. This state had been a long time, by a particular alliance often renewed, and by their common interest, united with France against the Spanish power: it had been amongst the first in complimenting his most christian majesty upon his marriage and the peace, by the sieurs Gradenigo and Delfin, the last of whom was likewise in this embassy. Henry was desirous that these ambassadors should be received with the utmost distinction in Paris. He ordered them to be served with his own plate, and loaded them with presents of equal value with those he gave the first. The letters he then wrote to me turned almost wholly upon this head, for he was then at Fontainebleau with the queen, who was far advanced in her pregnancy, upon which account the king could not come immediately to Paris, and still less the queen who had so great a concern in this embassy. His majesty shewed so much respect for the Venetian ambassadors, as not to suffer them to wait for his return to Paris, but let them know that he would receive them at Fontainebleau, to which place his coaches and equipages attended them.

The archdukes could not fail to suspect, that the king, by marching towards Calais, would endeavour to obstruct their designs upon Ostend, by way of reprisal for the ill treatment La Rochepot had received,

ceived. In order to discover the purport of this journey, they deputed to him the count of Solre in the quality of ambassador, under the pretence of making him the same compliments on the queen's pregnancy which he received from all parts; enjoining this ambassador to insinuate a complaint of his journey, by which Solre gave a fair opportunity to the king, who, instead of satisfying him as to the occasion of his complaints, made, in his return, very heavy ones against Spain, assuring him however, but in a general manner, that he would not be the first to come to a rupture, provided that the Spaniards did not force him to it by continuing their unfair proceedings. With this promise the ambassador pretended to be satisfied.

The queen of England hearing the king was at Calais, thought it a favourable opportunity to satisfy her impatience of seeing and embracing her best friend. Henry was not less desirous of this interview, that he might confer with the queen upon the affairs of Europe in general, as well as on their own in particular, especially those which had been just hinted to him by the English and Duch ambassadors when he was at Nantz. Elizabeth first wrote him a letter equally polite and full of offers of service; she afterwards made him the usual compliments, and repeated those assurances by the lord Edmund, whom she dispatched to Calais, till she herself could arrive at Dover, from whence she sent the lord Sidney with other letters.

Henry resolving not to be outdone in complaisance, answered these advances in a manner that shewed at once his respect for the sex of Elizabeth, and his esteem and admiration of her character. This intercourse continued a long time, to the great mortification of the Spaniards, whose jealousy was strongly excited by proximity and close correspondence. Of all the letters wrote by these two sovereigns on this occasion, I am possessed only of that in which

Elizabeth

Elizabeth informs the king of those obstacles that prevented her conferring with him in person, lamenting the unhappiness of princes, who, contrary to their inclinations, were slaves to forms and fettered by circumspection. This letter†, because it was the occasion of the voyage I made to this princess, I have kept in my hands; in it she tells her most dear and well beloved brother (for so she called the king of France) that her concern at not being able to see him was so much the greater, as she had something to communicate to him which she durst not confide to any other person or commit to paper, and yet that she was upon the point of returning to London.

THE king's curiosity was strongly excited by these last words; in vain did he torture his imagination to guess their purport. Secretary Feret being sent by him to fetch me, "I have just now received

† This letter, and this whole relation of the duke of Sully's concerning Henry the IVth's journey to Calais, and Elizabeth's to Dover, appear sufficient, without any other reflections, to shew the error of all those various judgments current at that time, and which have been mentioned by different historians concerning these two potentates. It was said Elizabeth proposed to Henry, either that he should come to Dover, or at least confer with her in a vessel half way between these two towns, and that this proposal concealed a snare in which Elizabeth hoped to entrap Henry by seizing upon his person in the interview, and keeping him prisoner till he restored Calais, and that Henry excused himself from complying with her request, only because he suspected the design; others say, because his fears of the sea were so great, that he durst not venture into a vessel. No one suspected the true motive for proposing this interview, which was the occasion of all these letters that passed between them, and caused the duke of Sully to make the secret voyage to Dover, of which he here gives an account. Siri, on this occasion, builds upon the resentment which he supposes Elizabeth always preserved, both of the peace of Vervins and the surrender of Calais, as well as her fear lest Henry should aggrandise himself too much, and on the jealousy which the English entertained of the French. Mem. Recond. vol. I. p. 130, 150, &c. But this writer, so well acquainted with foreign negociations, especially those of Italy and Spain, is not right, neither in the facts nor the opinions which he produces concerning the interior of our court and councils under the reign of Henry the IVth. He knew neither this prince nor the duke of Sully.

"letters,"

" letters," said he to me, " from my good sister the " queen of England, whom you admire so greatly; " they are fuller of civilities than ever: see if you " will have more success than I have had in dis- " covering her meaning." I agreed with Henry that it must be something of great consequence which enduced her to express herself in this manner; it was resolved therefore, that I should embark the next day for Dover, as if with no other design than to take advantage of the shortness of the passage to make a tour to London, which would give me an oppportunity of seeing what step the queen would take upon my arrival, neither the king nor I doubting but that she would be immediately informed of it. I acquainted no one with my intended passage, but such of my domestics as were to attend me, and of these I took but a very small number.

I EMBARKED early in the morning, and reached Dover about ten o'clock, where, among the crowd of those who embarked and disembarked, I was immediately discovered by the lord Sidney, who five or six days before had seen me at Calais: with him were Cobham, Raleigh, and Griffin, and they were soon after joined by the earls of Devonshire and Pembroke. Sidney embraced me, and asked me if I was come to see the queen; I told him I was not, and even assured him that the king knew nothing of my voyage: I likewise intreated him not to mention it to the queen, for not having had any intention of paying my respects to her, I had no letter to present, my design being only to make a short tour incognito to London. These gentlemen replied smiling, that I had taken an useless precaution, for that probably the guardship had already given a signal of my arrival, and that I might quickly expect to see a messenger from the queen, who would not suffer me to pass in this manner, having but three days ago spoke of me publicly and in very obliging terms. I affected to be extremely concerned at this unlucky accident,

accident, but to hope nevertheleſs, that I might ſtill paſs undiſcovered, provided that theſe gentlemen would be ſecret as to the place where I was to lodge; from whence, I aſſured them, I would immediately depart as ſoon as I had taken a little refreſhment: ſaying this I left them abruptly, and had but juſt entered my apartment, and ſpoke a few words to my people, when I felt ſomebody embrace me from behind, who told me, that he arreſted me as a priſoner to the queen. This was the captain of her guards, whoſe embrace I returned, and replied ſmiling, that I ſhould eſteem ſuch impriſonment a great honour.

His orders were to conduct me directly to the queen; I therefore followed him. "It is well, M. "de Roſny," ſaid this princeſs to me as ſoon as I appeared, "and do you break our fences thus, and "paſs on without coming to ſee me; I am greatly "ſurpriſed at it, for I thought you bore me more "affection than any of my ſervants, and I am per-"ſuaded that I have given you no cauſe to change "thoſe ſentiments." I replied in few words, but ſuch as ſo gracious a reception required. After which I began, without any diſguiſe, to entertain her with thoſe ſentiments the king my maſter had for her. "To give you a proof," replied ſhe, "that I believe all you have told me of the good-will "of the king my brother, and of your own, I will "diſcourſe with you on the ſubject of the laſt letter "I wrote to him; though perhaps you have ſeen it, "for Stafford (that is the name of the lord Sidney) "and Edmund tell me, that the king conceals few "of his ſecrets from you." She then drew me aſide, that ſhe might ſpeak to me with the greateſt freedom, on the preſent ſtate of affairs in Europe; and this ſhe did with ſuch ſtrength and clearneſs, beginning from the treaty of Vervins, that I was convinced this great queen was truly worthy of that high reputation ſhe had acquired in Europe. She entered into this detail, only to ſhew me how neceſ-

ſary

sary it was that the king of France should, in concert with her, begin to execute those great designs which they both meditated against the house of Austria. The necessity of this she founded upon the accessions this house was daily seen to make: she repeated to me all that had passed on this subject in 1598, between the king and the English and Dutch ambassadors, and asked me if this prince did not still continue to have the same sentiments, and why he so long delayed to begin the enterprize.

To these questions of queen Elizabeth, I answered, That his most christian majesty still continued to think of that affair as he always had done: that the men and money he was raising, and the other warlike preparations he was making, were destined to no other purpose than the execution of the concerted plan; but that in France things were far from being in such a state, as to enable him to undertake the destruction of a power so solidly established as that of the Austrian princes. This I proved, by the extraordinary expences Henry had been at since the peace of Vervins, as well for the general necessities of his kingdom, as to restrain the attempts of the seditious, and to carry on the war which he had just ended with Savoy. I did not dissemble with this princess the opinion I had always entertained of this enterprize, which is, that though England and the United Provinces should use their utmost endeavours to reduce the house of Austria, unless they were assisted by all the forces of the French monarchy, and on whom, for many reasons, the chief weight of this war must fall, the house of Austria, by uniting the forces of its two branches, might, without any difficulty, not only support itself against them, but even render the ballance equal; it would therefore be useless, and even an imprudent attempt, to endeavour to sap the foundations of so formidable a power, by the same means only that serve merely to keep upon the defensive with

with it: and it would be indiſpenſibly neceſſary to defer the attempt for ſome years, during which, France would acquire all ſhe now wanted, to enable her to ſtrike more effectually the blow that was preparing for the common enemy; and would, in conjunction with her allies, endeavour to engage the neighbouring princes and ſtates in their deſigns, the princes of Germany eſpecially, who were more immediately threatened by the tyranny of the houſe of Auſtria.

It was eaſy for the queen of England to comprehend, by the manner in which I expreſſed myſelf, that theſe were not ſo much my own as Henry's ſentiments which I communicated to her, and ſhe gave me to underſtand as much, by confeſſion, that they appeared ſo juſt and reaſonable to her, that ſhe could not avoid adopting them: adding only, that there was one point on which all the parties could not be too ſoon agreed, which was, that the ultimate view of the intended combination being to confine the power of the houſe of Auſtria within juſt bounds, it would be neceſſary that each of the allies ſhould ſo proportion all his deſires or expectations which he might conceive in the conſequence of the event, as that none of them might be capable of giving umbrage to the reſt: ſuppoſing, for example, that Spain ſhould be deprived of the Low Countries, neither the whole nor any part of this ſtate was to be coveted, either by the king of France, or the king of Scotland, who would one day become ſo of Great Britain, nor yet by the kings of Sweden and Denmark, already ſufficiently powerful by ſea and land to make themſelves reſpected by the other allies; and the ſame conduct ought to be obſerved with regard to all the other ſpoils that might be taken from the houſe of Auſtria by thoſe princes whoſe dominions ſhould happen to be neareſt to the conquered countries; "For if my brother, the king of "France, ſaid ſhe, ſhould think of making him-

"ſelf

" self proprietor, or even only feodal lord of the " United Provinces, I should never consent to it, " but entertain a most violent jealousy of him; nor " should I blame him, if, giving him the same oc- " casion, he should have the same fears of me."

THESE were not the only reflections made by the queen of England; she said many other things, which appeared to me so just and sensible, that I was filled with astonishment and admiration. It is not unusual to behold princes form great designs; their sphere of action so forcibly inclines them to this, that it is only necessary to warn them of the extreme, which is, the projecting what their powers are so little proportioned to perform, that they scarce ever find themselves able to execute the half of what they proposed; but to be able to distinguish and form only such as are reasonable; wisely to regulate the conduct of them; to foresee and guard against all obstacles in such a manner, that when they happen, nothing more will be necessary, than to apply the remedies prepared long before. This is what few princes are capable of. Ignorance, prosperity, luxury, vanity, nay, even fear and indolence, daily produce schemes, to execute which there is not the least possibility. Another cause of surprize to me was, that Elizabeth and Henry, having never conferred together on their political project, should agree so exactly in all their ideas, as not to differ even in the most minute particulars.

THE queen, observing my eyes were attentively fixed on her without speaking, imagined she had expressed herself so confusedly in something she had said, that I was unable to comprehend her meaning. But when I ingenuously confessed to her the true cause of my silence and surprize, she then, without scruple, entered into the most minute parts of the design: but as I shall have an ample occasion to treat of this, in relating the great schemes which were prevented by the untimely death of Henry IV. I shall not trouble

trouble the reader with uſeleſs repetitions; but in this place juſt ſhew the five principal points to which her majeſty reduced ſo extenſive a ſcheme, as from the ſequel of theſe Memoirs this will appear to have been. The firſt was, to reſtore Germany to its antient liberty, in reſpect to the election of its emperors, and the nomination of a king of the Romans. The ſecond, to render the United Provinces abſolutely independent with Spain; and to form them into a republic, by annexing to them, if neceſſary, ſome provinces diſmembered from Germany. The third, to do the ſame in regard to Switzerland, by incorporating with it ſome of the adjacent provinces, particularly Alſace and Franche-Compté. The fourth, to divide all Chriſtendom into a certain number of powers, as equal as may be. The fifth, to reduce all the various religions in it under thoſe three which would appear to be moſt numerous and conſiderable in Europe.

Our conference was very long: I cannot beſtow praiſes upon the queen of England that would be equal to the merit which I diſcovered in her in this ſhort time, both as to the qualities of the heart and the underſtanding. I gave an exact relation of every thing that paſſed between us to the king, who very highly approved all ſhe had ſaid to me. Their majeſties correſponded by letters, during the reſt of the time they ſtaid at Dover and Calais. All preliminaries were agreed on; meaſures were taken even on the grand object of the deſign, but with ſuch ſecrecy, that the whole of this affair remained to the death of the king, and even much longer, among the number of thoſe in which only various and uncertain conjectures are formed.

The king did not return to Paris till he had carefully examined all the fortreſſes upon his frontier, and provided for their ſecurity: in every other reſpect, he appeared an indifferent ſpectator of the quarrel between the Spaniards and the Flemiſh: and all he

he did in favour of Oſtend, the ſiege of which was ſtill continued, was not to hinder ſome French from engaging in the ſervice of the prince of Orange, in which ſeveral of them loſt their lives; amongſt theſe, the death of young † Chatillon-Coligny, whoſe head was ſhot off by a cannon-ball before Oſtend, deſerved to be particularly lamented. The king, when he was told it, ſaid publicly, that France had loſt a man of great merit: myſelf, in particular, was ſenſibly afflicted at his death. Coligny, at an early age, had already united almoſt all the qualities that form a ſoldier; valour, moderation, prudence, judgment, and the art of making himſelf equally beloved by the ſoldier and officer.

But Coligny was a proteſtant; and the jealouſy of the courtiers ſoon converted all theſe virtues into ſo many crimes, in the opinion of the king; they told his majeſty, that Coligny already aſpired to the diſtinction of being head of the proteſtants, both within and without the kingdom, to which he was ſolicited by the duke of Bouillon; that he deſired nothing with ſo much ardour as to equal, or even to ſurpaſs, the actions of his father and grandfather; and had been heard to declare, that he ſhould not regret the loſs of life, if he had the ſatisfaction to loſe it at the head of an army, fighting for the preſervation of his friends. His affection for the ſoldiers was treated as an artful and dangerous artifice. They hinted to the king, that he had already raiſed a jealouſy in the prince of Orange; and that his majeſty would one day have reaſon to fear a ſhoot from a ſtock that had given ſo much trouble to our kings. Henry was ſo far influenced by the inſinuations, that

† Henry de Coligny, lord of Chatillon, ſon to Francis, and grandſon to the admiral de Coligny: he carried to the aſſiſtance of Oſtend a regiment of 800 French. According to Brantome, the houſe of Chatillon Coligny came originally from Savoy, of a very noble and ancient lineage, as he ſays, and who were formerly ſovereign princes, and very powerful. Tom. III. p. 173.

when

when I went to ask some favours of him for the mother and brother of Coligny, he dwelt continually upon what he had heard, and had given but too much credit to, and appeared to me not only full of indifference for the death of Coligny, but also so greatly prejudiced against the whole family, that I desisted from a solicitation which could not but be prejudicial to myself, my connexions and conformity of religion with the deceased considered.

The king, at his return to Fontainebleau, had the pleasure to find the queen in as good a state of health as he left her. He was seldom from her during her pregnancy, and took all possible care of her health *. In a letter he wrote to me some days before the queen lay in, he says, "Bring no people "of business with you at this time, no men- "tion must be made of it during the first week of "my wife's lying-in; we shall have sufficient em- "ployment to hinder her from getting cold."

At length, the moment that was to fill the king, the queen, and the whole kingdom with joy, arrived; the queen was, on the 17th of September †, delivered of a son, whose strong health, as well as the queen's, filled the kingdom with the most agreeable hopes ‡. I believe I may venture to affirm, that

* "We read," says Bayle, in the Rep. de Lett. for January 1686, "that Henry recommended to Louisa Bourgeois, a very skilful mid- "wife, who laid the queen, to perform her office so carefully, as that "there might be no occasion for employing a man-midwife. Since "this, added he, would shock female modesty."

† On Thursday night about midnight.

‡ Perefixe says, on the contrary, "That the labour was very difficult, and the child so much fatigued, that it was quite purple "when it was born, which probably impaired its vital principles, "and broke its constitution. The king, imploring the blessing of "heaven upon the infant, gave him also his own benediction, and "put his sword into his hand, praying God, that he would be pleased to give him grace to make use of it only for his glory, and the "defence of his people." Matthieu speaks in the very same terms: "My dearest, says he to the queen, be of good cheer, for God has "granted us what we wanted." This writer adds, that a shock of

this incident gave me more joy than any one elſe. I was attached to the king's perſon by the moſt tender ties of affection, an affection which I felt in a higher degree than the moſt faithful of his ſubjects, and was therefore more intereſted in his happineſs. He was ſo well convinced of this truth, that he did me the honour to give me notice of the birth of his ſon in a billet, which, at ten o'clock at night, he ſent from Fontainebleau to Paris, where I then was; it contained only theſe few words: "The queen "is juſt delivered of a ſon; I ſend you the news, "that you may rejoice with me." Beſides this billet, which he wrote as to a friend, he ſent me another the next morning by La-Varenne, as grand maſter of the ordnance; he there mentioned the birth of the Dauphin as an occaſion of inexpreſſible delight to him, "Not ſo much, ſaid he, for the "near concern I have in this incident, as for the "general good of my ſubjects." He ordered me to fire the cannon of the arſenal; which was performed in ſuch a manner, that the report was heard even at Fontainebleau. On this occaſion it was not neceſſary to order public rejoicings: all his majeſty's ſubjects, from the firſt to the meaneſt, concurred in giving demonſtrations of it, in which fear and policy had no part.

THE king's ſatisfaction was only interrupted by a ſlight indiſpoſition, which he had drawn upon himſelf. La-Riviere * was his firſt phyſician, a man who had little more religion than thoſe generally have that blend it with the profeſſion of judicial aſtrology; yet the world did him the honour to ſuppoſe, that he concealed the principles of a proteſtant

an earthquake was felt two hours after midnight. Tom. II. liv. iii. p. 441.

† La-Riviere ſucceeded D'Alibouſt in the place of firſt phyſician: he had been in the family of the duke of Bouillon, who reſigned him to the king.

under

under the appearance of a catholic Henry, who already felt a tenderneſs for his ſon, that filled him with an eager anxiety to know his fate, having heard that La-Riviere had often ſucceeded wonderfully in his predictions, commanded him to calculate the Dauphin's nativity with all the ceremonies of his art; and that the exact moment of his birth might be known, had carefully ſought for the moſt excellent watch that could be procured. It appeared, that the king thought no more of this deſign till about a fortnight after, when he and I being alone together, the converſation turned upon the predictions of La-Broſſe, which I have formerly mentioned, concerning his majeſty and me, which we had found ſo exactly accompliſhed. Henry's inclination to make the experiment with his ſon receiving new ſtrength by this diſcourſe, he ordered La-Riviere to be ſent for.

THE phyſician, without taking any notice of it, had proceeded in his work. "M. de La-Riviere, "ſaid the king to him, we have been talking of "aſtrology; what have you diſcovered concerning "my ſon?" "I had begun my calculations, re- "plied La-Riviere, but I left them unfiniſhed, not "caring any longer to amuſe myſelf with a ſcience "which I have always believed to be in ſome de- "gree criminal." The king immediately diſcovered that this anſwer was not ſincere, and that he concealed his thoughts, either through an apprehenſion of offending his majeſty, or from an effect of ill-humour, whim, or the caution of an aſtrologer, who held it dangerous to diſcloſe his ſecrets. "I "ſee plainly, ſaid Henry, that you are not re- "ſtrained by motives of conſcience; you are not "of the number of perſons that are ſo very ſcrupu- "lous; but, in reality, you are afraid of not being "able to tell me truth, or of making me angry; "but whatever it be, I will know it, and I com- "mand you, on my diſpleaſure, to ſpeak freely"

La-Riviere suffered himself to be pressed still longer; and at last, with a discontented air, either real or dissembled, said, "Sire, your son will live out "the common age of a man, and will reign longer "than you; but his inclination and yours will be "very different; he will be obstinate in his opi- "nions, often governed by his own whims, and "sometimes by those of others: it will be safer "then to think than to speak: impending ruin "threatens your former society: all the effects of "your prudence will be destroyed: he will per- "form great things, will be fortunate in his designs, "and make a great figure in Europe: in his time "there will be a vicissitude of peace and war: he "will have children: and after him things will "grow worse. This is all you can know from me, "and more than I had resolved to tell you." The king, after musing a little while on what he had heard, said to La-Riviere, "You mean the protes- "tants, I know; but you speak thus because you "are well inclined towards them." "I under- "stand, said La-Riviere, what you would have, but "I shall say no more." His majesty and I continued together a long time in conversation, making reflections on every word that had been spoken by La-Riviere, which remained strongly on the king's mind.

It was not possible for me to stay long at Fontainebleau; but the king continued to give me, with great kindness, an account of every thing that happened. "You cannot imagine," says he in one of his letters, "how well my wife is recovered of her "lying-in; she dresses her head herself, and talks "already of getting up." In another, nine days after her delivery, he says, "The queen goes already "into her closet; she has a constitution surprising- "ly strong: my son likewise is very well, I thank "God: these are the best news I can send a faith- "ful and an affectionate servant, whom I tender-

"ly

" ly love †." Henry sent his son to Saint-Germain to be nursed, on account of the goodness of the air: and by one of those little strokes of popularity which shew the heart better than more ostentatious actions, he would have him shewn to all Paris; for which purpose, he was carried openly through the midst of that great city. The Parisians, by repeated acclamations, expressed their pleasure at this sight.

The king had made a promise to the queen, that if she brought him a son, he would present her with the castle of Monceaux. " My wife," said he, in a letter to me, " has gained Monceaux, by giving " me a son; therefore I desire you will send for the " president Forget, to confer with him about this " affair, and take his advice concerning the security " that must be given to my children, for the sum " which I pay for Monceaux." The city of Paris having likewise promised the queen a present of a suit of tapestry hangings for her lying-in, his majesty, in this letter, reminded me to demand it: an infanta ‡ was born in Spain, about the same time that Providence gave a prince to France.

The negotiation, so many years depending with the grand duke of Florence, was concluded this year: that the reader may understand the occasion of it, it is necessary he should know, that, under the reign of Henry the third, Ferdinand de Medicis, grand duke of Florence, took advantage of the troubles that then raged in France, to possess himself of the little isles of Pomegue, Ratoneau, and If, with its castle in the neighbourhood of Marseilles. Henry, fully resolved to make the grand duke restore them, ordered d'Offat, who was then on the other side of the Alps, to demand them, in the year 1598. The

† The original of this letter of Henry IV. to M. de Sully is still extant; it is dated from Fontainebleau, the 27th of August. Cabinet de M. le duc de Sully.

‡ Anna Maria Mauriette, afterwards queen of France, born the 22d of September.

grand duke not daring to refuse them absolutely, represented only, that he had expended great sums of money upon these isles, which he could not resolve to lose: d'Ossat of himself removed this obstacle, by engaging that the king his master should indemnify him for these expences, by paying him three hundred thousand crowns, for which twelve of the richest and most considerable persons in France should be security †, as if his majesty alone had not been sufficient to answer for so small a sum. The king, without greatly attending to this condition, ratified the treaty; and a short time after the chevalier Vinta was sent by the duke of Florence to conclude, with Gondy, the business of the isles upon this plan.

The two agents did not go out of the council to seek for their securities, and the affair was proposed to me among the rest: this method of proceeding with a king, whose power no part of Europe was ignorant of, appeared to me so uncommon, that I could not help laughing at those who mentioned it to me. Villeroi took pains to represent to me the necessity of disengaging d'Ossat from his word: I replied, that there never had been any bankers in my family; for indeed, this was rather the business of bankers than of gentlemen. None of the others, said Villeroi, have made any difficulty about it. I believe it, answered I with some indignation, for

† This is, in effect, the import of the fifth article of the treaty that passed on the 1st of May, 1598, between the king of France and the grand duke of Tuscany, by the intervention of cardinal d'Ossat, which may be seen at full length at the end of the collection of this cardinal's letters. The duke of Sully does not here reproach M. d'Ossat with any thing which he had not already excused in the letter which he wrote to his majesty, on the 5th of May 1598, immediately after the conclusion of this treaty, and likewise in that to M. de Villeroi, of the 4th of August following. He afterwards cleared himself more fully, in a long memorial, which is also inserted at the end of this collection. However, we cannot think the reasons which M. de Sully produces against this convention groundless, nor believe that the duke of Florence would have broke the treaty without that condition.

they

they are all either deſcended from traders or lawyers. Hereupon there aroſe a diſpute in the council, which was reported to the king, who only ſmiled, and ſaid they had done wrong to mention it to me without firſt informing him, ſince he had not acquainted me with it himſelf. "I am aſtoniſhed," added he, "that he did not give a ſtill ruder anſwer: you cannot be ignorant of his temper, and how highly he "values himſelf upon the nobility of his birth: let "this affair be concluded without his or any other "perſons entering into any obligation: I gave no "permiſſion to the biſhop of Rennes to agree to ſuch "an expedient." The grand duke did not allow himſelf to be ſolicited upon this head; he ſet the king free from the obligation of the twelve ſecurities, out of regard to his perſon. The act for it was paſſed on the fourth of Auguſt 1598, but the affair was on neither ſide concluded till the chevalier Vinta arrived in 1601.

I WAS likewiſe employed to ſettle certain eſtates in Piedmont, for which the count of Soiſſons was deſirous of treating with his majeſty: they came to him by the death of the princeſs of Conti, in right of his wife, who was of the houſe of Montaffié †. My report was not very favourable for the count: I repreſented to the king, that theſe eſtates, which had been too highly valued, were likewiſe ſubject to ſo much litigation, and were ſo diſadvantageouſly ſituated, that theſe conſiderations ought greatly to leſſen the price. The count of Soiſſons thought proper to diſſemble the reſentment he entertained againſt me for this declaration.

FRESNE-CANAYE ‡ was appointed ambaſſador to

† The prince of Conti was firſt married to Jane de Coëme, lady Bonnetable, and widow of Lewis count de Montaffié in Piedmont: and the count de Soiſſons had married Anne de Montaffié, daughter to that Lewis by the ſaid Jane de Coëme.

‡ Philip Canaye de Freſne: Philip de Bethune, count de Solles and de Charoſt.

Venice, and Bethune my brother to Rome, to the great mortification of the other miniſters, eſpecially Villeroi and Sillery, with whom I had often diſputes, which the king had many times endeavoured to prevent. Theſe two gentlemen had undertaken to exclude me from any concern in foreign affairs, the cognizance of which they pretended belonged only to them. The nomination to embaſſies falling under this head, they told his majeſty, in my preſence, that, for the embaſſy to Rome, they had abler perſons to propoſe to him than Bethune, who, they ſaid, had no knowledge of the affairs of that court, and had yet performed no conſiderable ſervice to the ſtate. My brother had, however, already been charged with the embaſſy to Scotland, of which he had acquitted himſelf well; and it could not be denied that he was circumſpect, wiſe, and honeſt; qualities which, in my opinion, are not among the leaſt that are eſſential to an ambaſſador. What theſe gentlemen ſaid, therefore, was as falſe as it was contemptuous; and this I made them ſenſible of in my anſwer, by ſhewing them the value of thoſe ſervices which the ſtate received from the military art, and which thoſe gentlemen ſeemed to place below all others.

Villeroi, piqued in his turn that I had not given the firſt rank to his, maintained his cauſe with great heat and animoſity. His majeſty found himſelf obliged to command us to be ſilent, telling us, that he was offended at our holding ſuch diſcourſe in his preſence; and that, without entering into a diſcuſſion of our ſervices, we ought to be ſatisfied that he was pleaſed with them. I aſked the king's pardon for daring, after this prohibition, to add a few words to cloſe the mouths of perſons who ſo unjuſtly placed the lazy buſineſs of the law, and the quiet employments of the cabinet, above the toils, the dangers, and expence of the military profeſſions; and I truly ſpoke my ſentiments of ſuch partiality. "Well, well," ſaid Henry, interrupting me, "I

"pardon

" pardon you all, and take your words, as I muſt;
" but upon condition that, for the future, you
" will avoid theſe little debates; and that when
" one of you recommends his friend to my favour,
" the others do not oppoſe it, but ſubmit to my
" choice: at preſent I determine in favour of the
" ſieur de Bethune, whoſe family, wiſdom, probity,
" and even capacity, I eſteem, having employed
" him in many affairs both of peace and war, which
" he has acquitted himſelf of worthily." The king promiſed Villeroi that, after my brother's return, he would diſpoſe of the embaſſy to Rome according to his recommendation. He then put an end to his walk, which this quarrel had protracted to more than two hours, and went to dinner. I went ſeveral times this year to Fontainebleau, to receive his majeſty's orders concerning affairs that could no otherwiſe be communicated to him, and, being often, and for a conſiderable time at a diſtance from each other, I received, as uſual, a great number of letters from this prince: that in which he mentions the marechal d'Ornano †, who had given him ſome cauſes of complaint, has ſomething ſingular in it. " I never, ſays
" Henry, ſaw ſo much obſtinacy and ignorance to-
" gether in one man, but I pronounced him dange-
" rous; he has reached the ſummit of inſolence.
" Take care that he gives me no occaſion to be con-
" vinced what he is, that is, unworthy of the ho-
" nours that I have beſtowed upon him: his fideli-
" ty only could deſerve them; his many acts of diſ-
" obedience will ſoon take away all claim to that
" character: to ſay the truth, I am quite tired of
" him." The ſtates of Languedoc meeting this year, the king wrote to me, that he muſt transfer the place of their ſitting to the Lower Languedoc, " that my ſervants, ſaid he, may not go firſt to thoſe
" of the league." In another letter, he ordered me

† Alphonſo d'Ornano, ſon to San-Pietro de Baſtelica, a colonel of the Swiſs.

to send for some foals of his breed of horses ‡ at Meun; and in another, to give two hundred crowns to Garnier his preacher in Advent and Lent; the rest, which contain only a detail of slight circumstances, I suppress, although they are proofs of the extreme vigilance and attention of this prince to matters of the smallest consequence.

I SHALL comprise, in one article, with which the memoirs of this year will be concluded, all that relates to marechal Biron, of whose revolt there was at length the most convincing proofs. After the king had been at Lyons, and had there entertained very strong suspicions against this marechal, his majesty had a private conversation with him in the cor-

‡ "From his early years," says Brantome, speaking of Henry II. in his Vies de hommes illustres, tom. II. p. 42, "he was always very "fond of the exercise of riding, and kept always a great number of "horses in his grand stables of Tournelles, which were the principal, "as also at Muns, at St. Leger, and at Oyron, under the inspection "of M. de Boissy, master of the horse, the most valuable part of which "was his breeding mares, wherein he took great delight." He adds, that this prince having one day shewn his stables to the emperor's master of the horse, the latter told him, that his master had not near so fine a set of horses, extolling them very highly, especially as the greatest part were of his own breeding. The troubles, during the last reigns, were the cause that the king's breeding stables had then fallen into decay, and were in a worse condition than they were under Henry II. That of Meun, or Mehun, in Berry, was the only place of those before mentioned, where horses were bred for the king's use; and these stables were very inconsiderable, as may be seen from the archives of the secretary of the king's household, which are kept at Petitsperes in Paris, where Meun is called Main, apparently to distinguish it from another Meun upon the Indre, that is also in Berry.

In 1604, the duke de Bellegarde, master of the horse, caused Mark Antony de Bazy, captain of the breeding stables, to remove the king's set of mares to St. Leger, a forest belonging to the crown. In 1618, some considerable additions and improvements were made: and greater still about 1665, when the late M. Colbert, minister of state, enlarged the bounds, made parks therein, and got together a great number of stoned horses and young colts, by means of Alain de Garsault, who was then captain. It continued in this state till 1715, at which time it began to be settled in Normandy, under the direction of Francis Gideon de Garsault, Lewis de Lorraine, count d'Armagnac being then master of the horse in France: since this last establishment, it has every day more the appearance of the stables of the most powerful prince in Europe.

vent

vent of the Cordeliers, and appeared so well informed of all his transactions with the duke of Savoy, that Biron, either because he then thought that, after such a discovery, all he could now do was to repair his fault, or that he sought only to deceive the king, confessed to him, that he had not been able to resist the offers made to him by the duke of Savoy, joined to his promise of giving him the princess † his daughter to wife. He asked the king's pardon for these proceedings, and protested to him, with the utmost appearance of sincerity, that he would never again suffer himself to be intoxicated with such expectations.

HENRY thought he might depend upon a promise, which was nevertheless forgot in the instant that it was made. Biron resumed his first designs; went, according to his custom, at different times into the provinces, caressed all the malecontents he found amongst the gentry, entertained them continually with the injustice he received from the king, and his credit and the correspondence he carried on without the kingdom. He entered into stronger engagements than ever with Bouillon, d'Entragues, d'Auvergne, and others ‡. He, who was pride and fierceness itself, laid such a restraint upon his inclinations, as to appear to the soldiers the most humane and affable

† The marechal de Biron, by marrying the duke of Savoy's third daughter, was to have received from the king of Spain, and that duke, the seigniory and investiture of Burgundy, Franche-Comté, and the county de Charolois: this was one part of the grand project of both these courts, which consisted in dismembering, in this manner, the kingdom of France, and parcelling it out among the governors of its provinces. The proof of this may be seen in Vittorio Siri, Mem. rec. vol. I. p. 103. 127, who likewise extols the services which the count de Bethune, our author's brother, performed on this occasion, to Henry IV. during his embassy at Rome.

‡ The author says nothing, in all this account, of the conspiracy of the marechal Biron, his imprisonment, and the process against him, but what is confirmed by the histories and memoirs of that time: they mention these extravagant words of his: "The king does not at all "hurt me, for I know how to be revenged on crowned heads, and "even emperors." Matthieu, tom. II. liv. ii. p. 333.

man in the world, and drew the affections of the mob by playing the hypocrite and the devotee; for what appearance will not ambition assume to attain its end? Hitherto, however, it might still have been doubted, whether he had not concealed his designs within his own breast, and if this conduct was not an effect of that disposition which is observable in many persons, who, by their discourse, appear restless, disturbed, and fond of novelties, yet are far from any intention of throwing themselves headlong into rebellion.

Hence arose Henry's suspence concerning the conduct of marechal Biron, though he still continued to have him carefully observed, and could not help being moved at the accounts that were brought him, of his conduct in the last journey he had taken to Dijon, where he had passed the end of the preceding year and the beginning of this. Biron, who on his side had his spies at court, being apprehensive of the impression which his behaviour made on the king, thought proper to write to me on that subject. His letter is dated the third of January; it turned only upon the ill offices that were done him with the king, and the injustice even his majesty did him in believing him capable of designs he had never entertained. He excused his journey to Burgundy, on account of some domestic affairs which made it absolutely necessary; and assured me, that he should leave that province in two days: he concluded with entreating me to believe all that would be told me from him by Prevot, one of his agents, whom he had sent to me. This letter was too soon followed by incontestable proofs of his treachery, to make it be thought sincere; and I was so far from believing his professions in it, that they only increased my suspicions.

During the king's stay at Calais, he received still clearer and more circumstantial informations against Biron, doubtless because this marechal, believing him-

himself less suspected than before, took greater liberties than usual: but Henry, instead of taking those measures that in prudence ought to have been no longer delayed, could not yet look upon this man as incurable; and resolved, if possible, to bring him back to his duty, by gentleness, kindness, and such distinctions as make the strongest impressions upon the heart of an honest man. Biron having demanded a gratuity of thirty thousand crowns from his majesty, the king thought it very reasonable, and granted it immediately; and because that no obstacles should retard the payment of it, this prince ordered me to take proper measures to satisfy Biron without delay; accordingly I paid him instantly one half of the sum in ready money, and assigned him the other half at the expiration of a year.

Biron thought there was a necessity for coming to thank me for this favour: he told me, that he was more obliged to me for it than the king, complaining to me that he had been forgotten and even despised by this prince, now that he had no longer occasion for his sword, this sword, said he, that has placed him upon the throne. It was impossible for me to keep silence upon this occasion: I represented to the marechal, with a kind of reproach, that he accused Henry so much the more unjustly, as this prince, to whom alone he was obliged for this gratuity, had not disdained to solicit himself for its payment: hence I took occasion to speak with still greater freedom to Biron; I remonstrated to him that, altho' he should even have proofs of his neglect, he ought always to remember that he spoke of his master, and of a master who, by his personal qualities, still more than by his rank, engaged the esteem and respect of his subjects. I told him, that there was nothing which kings were more sensible of than disrespect to their persons, an envious desire to lessen the glory of their arms, and ingratitude for their benefits. These terms were sufficiently plain, yet I went farther, and if I did not tell Biron positively that I thought

thought him both ungrateful and a traitor, there was nothing to hinder him from concluding it by all my diſcourſe. I exhorted him to encourage a nobler emulation in his ſoul, which might give him a title to real praiſes; I dwelt upon the difference there was between making one's ſelf beloved by one's prince and country, and endeavouring to become the object of its fear: a deteſtable attempt, and almoſt always fatal to thoſe that make it. I told him, that if he would join with me in mutual labours for the glory of the ſtate and the public good, we might, in ſome degree, make both depend upon us; he by his abilities for war, I by the ſhare I had in the government at home; and hence we ſhould taſte the refined pleaſure of knowing ourſelves to be either the authors or inſtruments of every public benefit. I finiſhed my remonſtrance, by endeavouring to prevail upon him to go and return his majeſty thanks for the gratuity he had juſt received.

To all this Biron, neither moved to gratitude by kindneſs, nor to repentance by conviction, anſwered only by exaggerating his own merit ſo unſeaſonably and in ſuch boaſtful terms, that I was now convinced of a thing that I had hitherto only ſuſpected, which was, that the harſhneſs of his manners and the inequality of his humour proceeded from a ſlight taint of madneſs, for which ſo much the leſs allowance was to be made, as that, hindering him from reaſoning, it could not hinder him from ſpeaking and acting ill: what appeared to me a complete proof of it was, that, after what I had juſt ſaid to him, having reaſon to look upon me as a man in whoſe preſence he could not be too cautious, he was imprudent enough to let ſomething eſcape him concerning the deſigns that filled his head. I took no notice of it; but he perceived the error he had been guilty of himſelf, and to repair it pretended to acquieſce with my reaſons, and to approve of my ſentiments: from that moment,

ment, I so absolutely despaired of ever being able to recal this man to his duty, that I thought mine obliged me to disguise from the king nothing which I believed him capable of doing.

It was always a part of Henry's character, to be with difficulty persuaded of the treachery of any person about him: he answered, that he knew Biron perfectly well; that he was very capable of saying all that was related; but that this man, who, in consequence of his natural violence of temper, the effect of melancholy, was never contented, and exalted himself above every one else, was nevertheless, a moment after, the first to mount his horse, and dare all dangers for those whom he had railed at so much before; therefore he well deserved some indulgence for a little intemperance of tongue: that he was assured Biron would never be induced to rebel against him; that if this should happen, as he had already given a proof on those occasions where he had saved the life of this marechal, and in the last place at Fontaine-Françoise, that he did not yield to him in courage, he knew likewise how to shew him that he did not fear him. The king therefore made no alteration in his behaviour to Biron, except that he gave him still greater demonstrations of kindness, and loaded him with new honours, which he looked upon as the only remedy for his defection.

He was sent ambassador to queen Elizabeth, with whom he had a very extraordinary conversation *. He was imprudent enough not only to mention the earl of Essex to this princess, whom she had lately beheaded, but likewise to bewail the fate of that nobleman, whose great services had not been able to preserve him from so tragical an end; and Elizabeth had the complaisance, in answer to this impertinent discourse, to justify her conduct with

* A particular account of this embassy may be seen in Matthieu, tom. II. l. 2. p. 426, & seq.

regard

regard to the earl, by shewing the necessity she was under to punish him: she told him, that Essex had madly engaged in schemes which greatly exceeded his abilities; and that after many proofs, and a full conviction of his rebellion, he might have still by submission obtained her pardon; but that neither his friends nor his relations could prevail upon him to ask it. I know not whether the queen of England perceived any marks of resemblance between the French ambassador and the English favourite; but the reasonable observations on the nature of royal heads, and the duty of subjects, with which she concluded her discourse, seemed to insinuate as much; but Biron drew no advantage from it.

At his return from London, the king appointed him likewise ambassador extraordinary to Switzerland, to renew the treaty of alliance between France and the Cantons; still continuing to believe, that an employment which would take off his thoughts from arms, and engage him in a commerce with a body so wise and politic as the Helvetic Senate is, would subdue at length all inclinations to sedition: but ambition, envy, and avarice, are passions that can never be wholly quelled; and had the heart of Biron been thoroughly sounded, it might probably have been found tainted with all the three. No sooner was he returned from his second embassy, than, as if he had endeavoured to make amends for the time he had lost, he laboured more assiduously than before to bring all his chimerical schemes to perfection; either persuaded thereto by the duke of Bouillon and the count of Auvergne, who had likewise formed their party, or having drawn them into his.

To strengthen their mutual engagements, these three gentlemen signed a form of association, of which each kept an original: in this uncommon piece, which was produced in the process against marechal Biron, they reciprocally promised, upon the faith and word of gentlemen and men of honour, to continue

tinue united for their common ſafety *to and againſt all, without any exception* (theſe terms deſerve a particular obſervation) to keep inviolably ſecret whatever might be revealed to any one of them; and to burn this writing, in caſe any accident ſhould happen to either of the aſſociates. There was no proſpect of ſucceeding in their deſigns, but through the operation of Spain and Savoy; they therefore renewed their correſpondence with theſe two powers, and on the other ſide, to ſecond their endeavours, went about picking up all the diſaffected perſons they could find amongſt the gentry and ſoldiers. To draw into rebellion many of the towns at the greateſt diſtance from Paris, particularly thoſe in the provinces of Guienne and Poictou, they took advantage of the ſedition occaſioned by the eſtabliſhment of the penny in the livre, which I had oppoſed ſo ardently in the aſſembly *des Notables*, and which I had not afterwards the power to ſuppreſs; however, it could not poſſibly be raiſed according to the original plan; it had been changed into a ſubſidy of eight hundred thouſand franks, of which one half was ſunk in the taille, and the other in the cuſtoms.

BIRON and his aſſociates, to increaſe the diſcontent of theſe people, already ſtrongly incited by that impoſt, perſuaded them, that to complete their calamities, they would ſhortly be burthened with a duty upon ſalt; and many perſons were kept in their pay in each of theſe provinces, to terrify the inhabitants with perpetual alarms. What government can expect to be free from theſe diſturbers of public tranquility, if that of Henry the Great, ſo wiſe, mild, and popular, was not? This evil, however, took its riſe from the unhappy influence the civil wars had on the manners of the people; that was the poiſon which produced thoſe turbulent ſpirits to whom quiet was painful, and the happieſt condition, a languid inactivity: hence ariſes that reſtleſs ambition, which keeps their reaſon enſlaved, makes them

them murmur at heaven, and quarrel with mankind for torments they bring on themſelves; and raiſes their malice againſt princes, whoſe whole power, ſo obnoxious to them, is not ſufficient to gratify their inordinate deſires.

HENRY's eyes were at length opened with regard to the real character of Biron, which he had hitherto flattered himſelf he knew ſo well, and he began to fear he ſhould be obliged to have recourſe to the moſt violent remedy to ſtop the contagion: informations multiplied every day, and came from perſons that could not be ſuſpected; all agreed in the chief point of the conſpiracy; ſome mentioned the act of aſſociation, and, having ſeen it, related the very terms in which it was conceived. Calvairac * gave the king the moſt circumſtantial and moſt probable account that had been yet tranſmitted to him; beſides the public rumour, he informed him, that Biron and his collegues had received ſeveral thouſand piſtoles from perſons who came from Spain; that they expected ſums ſtill greater, and a ſupply of forces; that the council of Madrid had agreed to it, on condition that the rebels ſhould begin by ſeizing ſome ſtrong maritime places, on the frontiers of Spain; that, conformably to this plan, enterprizes were already formed upon Blaye, Bayonne, Narbonne, Marſeilles, and Toulon; and that the count of Auvergne was to wait only till theſe were executed, to begin openly his attempt upon Saint-Flour †.

ALL theſe informations made it abſolutely neceſſary to examine the matter thoroughly. The king came on purpoſe to the arſenal, where he found me buſy in completing the labour I had begun, to communicate to me what he had learned, and gave me the detail, leaning upon the balcony over the great walk: he went afterwards to Fontainebleau, whither

* John de Sudrie, baron de Calvairac.
† In Upper Auvergne.

I followed him; and it was in this place that we were to proceed to the laſt extremities with marechal Biron. He had for a long time made uſe of La-Fin * to carry on his foreign negotiations, a lively, cunning, intriguing fellow, whom Bouillon and he often called their kinſman. La-Fin had been ſent ſeveral times to the king of Spain, the duke of Savoy, and the count of Fuentes; but afterwards, upon ſome diſguſt Biron had given him, he retired to his houſe, where he remained unemployed. It was not thought impoſſible to gain him; and for this purpoſe his nephew, the vidame of Chartres †, was made uſe of, who endeavoured to prevail upon his uncle to come to Fontainebleau. In the mean time I returned to Paris, to make preparations for a journey his majeſty thought it neceſſary to take immediately into all thoſe places through which Biron had paſſed, namely, Poictou, Guienne, Limoſin, and eſpecially about Blois.

La-Fin having at length reſolved to come to Fontainebleau, revealed all that he knew concerning Biron's conſpiracy. The king was deſirous that he ſhould be detained and lodged at Mi-Voie, that he might be ſeen by none but thoſe who were ſent to confer with him. His majeſty judging by what he had firſt declared, that my preſence would be neceſſary, wrote theſe few words to me: "My friend, "come to me immediately, on an affair that con-

* James de La-Fin, a gentleman of Burgundy, of the houſe of Beauvois-la-Nocle; "the moſt dangerous man, ſays Perefixe, and "the greateſt traitor in France: the king knew him well, and often "ſaid to the marechal, Don't ſuffer that man to come near you, "he's a rogue, he'll be the death of you. He endeavoured to ac-"cuſe the marechal de Biron, from a jealouſy he entertained, that "the baron de Lux had ſupplanted him in the marechal's favour; "and in revenge to the count de Fuentes, upon the diſcovery of his "attempting to betray the latter, for that he had cauſed his ſecretary "to be arreſted: yet that he might the better deſtroy the marechal "de Biron, he pretended ſtill to have the ſame attachment to him as "before."

† Pregent de La Fin, vidame de Chartres.

"cerns

" cerns my ſervice, your honour, and our mutual " ſatisfaction. Adieu, my dear friend." I took poſt immediately, and on my arrival at Fontainebleau, I met his majeſty in the midſt of the large avenue to the caſtle, ready to go to hunt. I threw myſelf at his feet: " My friend," ſaid this prince to me, preſſing me in his arms, " all is diſcovered; the " chief negotiator is come to aſk pardon, and to " make a full confeſſion: in his accuſation he in- " cludes a great number of perſons of high rank, " ſome of whom have particular reaſons to love me *; " but he is a great liar, and I am determined to be- " lieve nothing he ſays without good proofs: he ac- " cuſes one man, among the reſt, whom you little " think of; come, gueſs who this traitor is." " That is not in my power, ſire," I replied. After preſſing me ſome time longer, but to no purpoſe, " You know him well, ſaid he, it is M. de Roſny." " If the others are no more guilty than I am, re- " plied I ſmiling, your majeſty need not give your- " ſelf much trouble about them." " I believe ſo, " ſaid the king; and to ſhew you that I do, I have " ordered Bellievre and Villeroi to bring you all the " accuſations againſt you and the others; I have " even told La-Fin, that I would have him ſee you, " and ſpeak to you freely: he is concealed at Mi- " Voie, and will meet you on the road from Moret; " appoint the hour and place, and none ſhall be " preſent at your conference."

I COULD not imagine how my name happened to be found in this wicked cabal; whether it came from ſome of Biron's people, who ſuppoſed me to be

* We may, doubtleſs, rank among the number of theſe, the charge which La-Fin brought againſt Biron, of his having attempted the king's life, and the Dauphin's, according to Chron. Septennaire, ſince his friends made uſe of the proofs they had of the contrary, to obtain his pardon: " Sire, we have at leaſt this advantage, " ſaid M. de La-Force to Henry IV. throwing himſelf at his feet, " that there is " nothing proved as to his having made any attempt on your majeſty's " perſon." Vol. 9129 of the MSS. in the king's library.

a

a friend of their master, or from Biron himself and his associates, who thought it was lawful for them to make use of it to the Spanish ministers, to swell the number of their partisans; or of the malecontents of the kingdom: it was impossible, that two letters I wrote to the marechal, through zeal rather than complaisance, might have involved me in the number of these conspirators; and the rather because, in allusion to the conversation that passed between Biron and me, which I have formerly mentioned, I told him plainly, that there was nothing to hinder him from making himself useful and dear to the kingdom, by those measures I had marked out to him: I likewise told him, that although I was almost always about the king's person, yet I had never heard him express any resentment against him: and I advised Biron not to assert such a thing publicly, because the world would not fail to believe, and report, that he only feigned to have received some disgust from his majesty, because his own conscience reproached him with having deserved it. Thus what I said with an intention to bring Biron back to his duty, was interpreted to my disadvantage.

HENRY's opinion, as he has since told me, was, that this accusation of me did not take its rise either from Biron or any of his associates, but from La-Fin alone, at the instigation of some persons, who hoped by that means to accomplish my disgrace: however that may be, it made so little impression on the king's mind, that his majesty, who had lately given me the government of the Bastile, and intended that the patent for it should not appear in my name, but only in that of La Chevalerie, altered his opinion on this occasion, and caused it to be expedited under mine, knowing none, he said, but me, by whom he could expect to be served with fidelity, in case he should have birds in the cage. Accordingly, Villeroi was ordered to bring me the patent a

few

few days after, which was the beginning of the following year.

I HAD a long converſation with La-Fin § alone, in the foreſt; after which, Bellievre, Villeroi, and myſelf, examined, with great care, all the papers that contained any proofs againſt the duke of Bouillon, marechal Biron, and the count of Auvergne; ſuch as letters, memorandums, and other writings of the ſame kind. The names of many perſons beſides theſe three gentlemen were mentioned in them; but as it was probably with as little juſtice as my own, which was there likewiſe, I ſhall not, on ſo ſlight a foundation, give them a place in theſe Memoirs, which, to diſtruſtful perſons, might make them ſtill more liable to ſuſpicion than the depoſitions of La-Fin. After this examination we returned to his majeſty, and a council being held, the reſult of it was, to keep every thing ſecret, that Biron might not be warned of the meaſures that were to be taken to bring him to court, that he might be arreſted with the greater ſecurity. It was likewiſe reſolved, that his majeſty ſhould ſet out immediately on the journey before mentioned. We ſhall ſee in the following year what theſe meaſures produced.

IT is neceſſary to take ſome notice of what happened this year in ſeveral ſtates of Europe: the court of London was thrown into confuſion by a rebellion that was ſtirred up by the Spaniards in Ireland; Elizabeth ſent to beſiege Kinſale, the ſtrongeſt place that the rebels were in poſſeſſion of: the earl of Tyrone, their leader, and Don Alonzo del Campo, who commanded the Spaniſh troops in Ireland, haſtened to relieve it with all the forces they could get together, which were cut in pieces by the lord Piercy. Alonzo remained priſoner there, and Kinſale ſurrendered.

VERY different reports were raiſed concerning the deſtination of the fleet which was fitted out about

§ Matthieu, vol. II. book iii. p. 482.

this

this time by the king of Spain, but nothing could be certainly known about it; for after it had rode some time in the Mediterranean, it was attacked by a tempest, and was obliged to re-enter the port of Barcelona, which it did in a very shattered condition: the command of this fleet had been given to prince Doria. Probably it was designed against Portugal, where the true or the false Don Sebastian * still continued to have a great number of partisans. Some secrets which he revealed, that it seemed could have been only known to the king of Portugal; certain natural marks upon his body which he shewed, and some other circumstances of the same kind, confirmed his assertion. However, to confess the truth, none of these proofs appeared unanswerable; nevertheless, the king of Spain thought it the wisest way to rid himself privately of this pretended prince: so that the truth was never known, or at least to a few persons only, whose interest it was not to publish it.

A DIET was convened at Ratisbon, with intention to make some composition between the popish and protestant religions, but this came to nothing: upon the first question proposed, which was concerning the authority of the holy scriptures †, such heat was

* There is something surely very surprising and uncommon in this perfect resemblance of all the parts, features, and even the defects of the body, which, according to all the historians, was between the real Don Sebastian and this man, who is said to have been a native of Calabria; and it is no less difficult to guess, how he could come to the knowledge of the circumstances of the king of Portugal's life, which were so peculiar and secret, as to astonish all the world. The Portuguese, still more deceived through their natural affection for the blood of their kings, as also through their hatred for Spain (this last motive might likewise be applied to M. de Sully) than from any evidence they had, persisted in supporting the claims of this impostor. The Septennaire is very favourable to him, an. 1601, p. 217. See what has been said a little higher. The Spaniards were so throughly convinced of their having discovered the cheat, when Ferdinand, grand duke of Tuscany, had delivered him up into the hands of the Viceroy of Naples, that they no longer scrupled to expose him as a public gazing-stock, mounted on an ass; after which they sent him to the galleys. See Matthieu, tom. II. l. iii. p. 451.

† This question was publicly debated, during several sittings, between

raiſed among the diſputants, that an accommodation became impracticable. The papiſts maintained, that their authority was derived wholly from the conſent of the church, that they might add the prerogative of infallibility, to the other rights with which they had ſo liberally, and with ſo little reaſon, inveſted the Pope: the proteſtants treated this doctrine with contempt and ridicule ‡.

THE war in Tranſylvania ſtill continued diſadvantageous to the vaivodes, Battory and Michael, who had revolted from the emperor; they were defeated by George Baſte, and Clauſembourg was taken. The duke of Mercœur ſignalized himſelf no leſs at the head of the Imperial troops againſt the Turks ‖; he took Albe-Royale in Hungary, a fortreſs eſteemed impregnable; and afterwards drove away the Turks from it, who had returned to beſiege it. The archduke, Ferdinand of Auſtria, leſs fortunate than Mercœur, was beaten before Caniſe §; and the Knights of Malta took and deſtroyed the city of Paſſava in the Morea.

CONSTANTINOPLE and the palace of the Grand Signor was in no leſs commotion, through the diſcontent of the Janizaries, who proceeded ſo far as to ſtrangle, in the preſence of Mahomet III. himſelf, ſeven of the favourites of his ſeraglio, and threatened to depoſe him: he was a man, indeed, whoſe vices

tween the catholic divines of Maximilian duke of Bavaria, and the proteſtant divines of Ludovic count palatine of Neubourg, and of the electors of Saxony and Brandenbourg; the two firſt of theſe princes aſſiſted at it in perſon, and were obliged to put an end to this diſpute, the advantage in which, each of the parties, as is always the caſe, afterwards aſcribed to themſelves. De Thou, Chron. Septen. for the year 1601.

‡ This, however, will always be, in the opinion of unprejudiced perſons, one among the falſe doctrines of Calvin, the moſt untenable, namely, that ſcripture is the beſt interpreter of ſcripture; or, what is far worſe, that its ſenſe may be determined by private perſons. This is the chief ſource of that monſtrous confuſion of ſects, with which the pretended reformation was immediately over-run.

‖ The duke of Mercœur, by his great exploits, acquired the reputation of one of the firſt warriors of his time. See them, as alſo the other facts that are here ſpoken of, in the hiſtorians.

§ By the chriſtians called Chateauneuf.

rendered him unworthy of a throne; he was cruel, treacherous, ſlothful, avaritious, and ſunk in every kind of voluptuouſneſs.

BOOK XIII.

AGITATED as the minds of the people were by all thoſe domeſtic inſurrections we have ſeen in the preceding book, yet it did not hinder them from reſigning themſelves, this winter, to their accuſtomed pleaſures and ſhews. By the queen's order, and for her amuſement, a magnificent interlude was compoſed: the arſenal was the place the king choſe for the repreſentation of theſe ſhews, on account of the conveniency its ſpacious apartments afforded both for the actors and ſpectators. At the time that this interlude was to be played, the wound I had received in my mouth at the ſiege of Chartres happening to open again, I was not in a condition to give the neceſſary orders at the arſenal, and they had already pitched upon another place for its repreſentation; but the king choſe rather to wait till I was cured, which retarded it eight days.

TOWARDS the middle of Lent, the count of Schomberg, grand marechal of the empire, and envoy from the court of Vienna, arrived at Paris, into which he made his entry with a train of forty or fifty horſe: the king ordered the ſame honours to be paid him that the marechal de † Bois-Dauphin had received at Vienna. The prince, ſon to the marquis of Brandenbourg, ſtaid likewiſe ſome time at Paris. It was not uſual to defray the expences of perſons of his rank, eſpecially, as it was obſerved by his majeſty, if they did not follow the court: but the king was reſolved to ſhew a particular reſpect to a prince,

† Urban de Laval, marquis de Sablé, who died in 1629.

whose family, one of the most illustrious in Germany, had always professed a remarkable attachment for France; and I was ordered to send him every day, in his majesty's name, presents of the richest wines, and provisions for his table.

When every thing was ready for the king's departure, and that his majesty, in the several journeys he had made to Paris, had given all the necessary orders for securing peace and tranquility in that city, and in the provinces he was going to remove from, as well as those through which he was to pass, he left Paris on the twentieth of May, and came to Fontainebleau, from whence he took the road to Blois. The queen and all her household accompanied his majesty in this journey; I likewise attended him, but did not set out till a few days after: the king sent me notice of his arrival at Blois, and his intention of staying there eight or ten days. This delay was no more than necessary for a regimen that was prescribed him by his physicians, to cure a defluxion of humours which had fallen on one of his legs, and for the time it lasted, as Henry wrote to me, might well be called the gout. Blois likewise was the most proper city he could chuse to discover the secret practices of marechal Biron: Henry had many persons in this province in whom he could confide, who applied themselves solely to the making those discoveries, and almost every hour sent couriers to him with the intelligence they had procured; by them the king was informed that Biron's cabal extended to Anjou, the higher Poitou, Xaintonge, Mirebalais, Châtelleraudois, Angoumois, Perigord, Limosin, Marche, and Auvergne, and even took in the higher Guyenne, and Languedoc; that it was supported by four or five noblemen of the court, whose names were not expressed, for fear of advancing any thing that was yet doubtful: the connexions with Spain, the schemes for surprising the frontier cities, and the arguments they made use of to disgust the

the people with the present government (the same which I have already mentioned) made up part of these advices, to which the following new informations were added.

THE seditious, to prepossess the people with unfavourable thoughts of his majesty's journey to Blois, which was doubtless a source of uneasy apprehensions to them, gave out every where that Henry had only undertaken it with a design to chastise severely those that had resisted Jambeville, d'Amours, and the other commissaries that had been sent to exact the penny in the livre, upon the rivers and other places of passage, and to settle it himself in such a manner, that, by a new regulation of the rates, it should produce thrice as much, and to force the duty on salt to be every where received by taking possession of the salt-pits, for which the proprietors were to have no other recompence than some rents ill paid from the town-house of Paris; and lastly, to stop the murmurs which it was expected the exacting of two tenths would raise (which, they made them believe, Henry had obtained the pope's permission to levy) and the revocation of the draw-backs granted on the taxes of 1594, 1595, and 1596, which I have already mentioned in the account of my journey into the several districts.

THUS was this good prince represented throughout his whole kingdom as a furious and implacable tyrant. They were never without one set of arguments to engage the catholic nobility in a rebellion against him, and another to sow sedition amongst the protestant officers and gentry: to the first they represented, that this treasure and this formidable artillery, which the king was providing, were to be employed in depriving them totally of their privileges, and reducing them to a state of slavery; they persuaded the second, that the persecution against them was already begun, that the payment of their garrisons, the funds for the preservation of their

cities, the penſions of their leaders, their officers, and miniſters, would be leſſened this year by one third, and the next by two, after which there would be ſo much the leſs difficulty in depriving them of all their fortreſſes, as it was a point already agreed upon by the council, to exclude the proteſtants from all public offices and employments, by refuſing to expedite the patents for them.

If the proofs againſt the perſons of the conſpirators had been as clear as thoſe of their plots, the king might have that inſtant given free courſe to his juſtice; but, with regard to the dukes of Bouillon and Tremouille, for example, there was as yet leſs certainty of their guilt, than of marechal Biron and the count of Auvergne's; for at the moſt there were only ſuſpicions, though thoſe indeed were very ſtrong, againſt them: the other lords of the court, whoſe names, to the number of eight, were found in the liſt, might be well ranged under a third claſs of perſons, whoſe doubtful conduct required ſome explanation. The dukes of Bouillon and Epernon attended the king in his journey to Blois, and his majeſty was of opinion he might be able to draw from themſelves a proof of their real ſentiments, by attentively obſerving the air and turn of their countenance, during the recital he made them of the news he received: he began firſt with d'Epernon. A juſt regard to truth has ſo often reduced me to the neceſſity of ſpeaking diſadvantageouſly of this nobleman, that it is with a real ſatisfaction I ſeize this opportunity of ſhewing his innocence, and giving him the praiſe he deſerves.

D'Epernon hearing whiſpers about the court of intrigues and cabals, eaſily apprehended that, as it is uſual to judge of the preſent by the paſt, his name would not fail to be mentioned amongſt thoſe that were called enemies to the ſtate; for which reaſon he took the precaution to renew to his majeſty at Fontainebleau his aſſurance of fidelity: theſe aſſurances

ances were all the proofs he had to offer, and unfortunately Henry, who had been long prejudiced against him, did not give much credit to them. Notwithstanding this step, he still continued to suspect him, and because d'Epernon in speaking to him had referred to me, the king wrote to me at Paris an account of what had passed between him and the duke, letting me know at the same time, that d'Epernon seemed to have an intention to make up matters with me, and he ordered me to make the first advances to him, to the end that, if the crime with which he was charged should appear to be yet only intentional, his majesty might not have any cause to reproach himself with having suffered the duke to rush into actual treason, when there needed only good advice and kind treatment to prevent him.

I OBEYED the king's orders, and from that moment became convinced of the duke of Epernon's innocence: he said the same to the king at Blois as he had done to me, and did not deny his having heard of some commotions and secret intrigues, but said that these were always so general, and sometimes so full of contradiction, that he could not imagine that any credit was to be given to them; that those who were said to be the authors or favourers of these plots having never given him the least intimation of them, he had treated as a fiction, a project which appeared to him wholly extravagant, the present situation of affairs rendering the execution of it absolutely impossible; but whether real or not, he offered the king to continue about his person, as a security for his own fidelity, during six months; and if that time was not sufficient, he swore to him that he would not quit him till his suspicions were entirely erased. The king could have no objection to so reasonable a proposition, and began, as well as I, to believe that the duke of Epernon was guiltless.

THE duke of Bouillon discovered far less sincerity: on the first mention his majesty made of the plot to

him, he treated it as a calumny invented by ſpies and informers, againſt the nobility of the kingdom, to exaggerate their own ſervices, and appear at leaſt to gain the money that was given them to exerciſe this employment: to this reproach, which tacitly attacked his majeſty, he added an application of a paſſage in the New Teſtament, "It is impoſſible but "that offences will come, but woe unto him thro' "whom they come," a paſſage, which, if taken in its true ſenſe, might have been with more juſtice applied to Bouillon and his adherents. Bouillon did not ſtop here; he added, that it was true he was told, that the catholics, as well as the proteſtants, complained of their being oppreſſed with impoſts, and that in proportion as the king's riches and happineſs increaſed, they became poor and miſerable; that, beſides theſe general complaints, he had, in a certain place, heard proteſtants ſay, that ſooner or later it would be their deſtiny to be looked upon as the plague and nuiſance of the ſtate; that both they and their children would be hated, perſecuted, and proſcribed; that they would be excluded from all honours and employments, and that the kingdom would never be quiet till they were totally extirpated: he added, that the more credit was given to theſe reports, becauſe that perſons of the greateſt abilities in the kingdom, not being admitted to the council, nor conſulted on affairs relating either to the difference of religions, or to the new impoſts that were eſtabliſhed, they could not inform the people of the true motive of thoſe reſolutions that were taken there, nor could the people attribute them to any thing but a deſign to enſlave them.

It was ſufficiently plain that the duke of Bouillon, by talking in this manner, ſought to inſinuate to the king, that all theſe reports of a rebellion had no other foundation than the cries of the people oppreſſed with a multitude of taxes; and that this ſeeming diſcontent was put on to conceal from his majeſty his real

sentiments: but the insolence and the severity of his expressions shewed plainly enough that he could not resist this opportunity of discharging some part of his malice; he even added, with the same subtilty and with equal chagrin, that they had endeavoured to persuade himself, that his majesty intended to abolish the privileges of the viscounty of Turenne, and to purchase the rights and claims of the house of Mark upon Sedan; but to this, as well as to every thing else, he had only replied, that he was persuaded the king would never act in such a manner, on account of the services he had at all times received from the protestant body; he finished by protesting to his majesty, that, although all that had been told him concerning the seditious and traiterous attempts in the kingdom should be as true as he believed them false, yet it should never lessen his duty and fidelity.

The king, dissembling to the duke of Bouillon the opinion he conceived of him from this discourse, made him a proposal of the same nature with that which the duke of Epernon had of himself so frankly made, and which he expected would throw him into great confusion: he told the duke, that he was satisfied with this assurance, and that he would no longer preserve any remainder of distrust of him, provided he would give the same satisfaction that Epernon had offered, which was not to remove from the court while this affair continued in agitation, and that he might depend upon it he would not keep him about his person without communicating to him all his designs, and calling him to his councils, as he seemed to desire, that he might be himself a witness of his solicitude to relieve the people, and be able to give both protestants and catholics an incontestable proof of the purity of his intentions. Bouillon preserved an uncommon presence of mind under this blow; he broke out into an exclamation of joy and surprise at the sentiments his majesty discovered for

him; and as to the propofal he made him, he told him that he would go and put himfelf into a condition to fatisfy it, not for fix months only, but for his whole life, if neceffary, by taking a journey throughout all his eftates, that nothing might afterwards interrupt the long ftay he intended to make at court. In this manner, by appearing to do all that his majefty required, he refervd, nevertheleſs, the power of doing only what he pleafed himfelf, and of making a plaufible excufe for the fudden departure he was meditating.

HENRY, comprehending his defign, refolved to call a fecret council to deliberate upon the meafures that were neceffary to be taken in this conjuncture. The count of Soiffons, the chancellor, Villeroi, Maiffe, and myfelf, were all that were prefent at this council: all other affairs were poftponed till † Defcures was heard, who had been fent by his majefty to invite marechal Biron to court, and whofe report was fuch that it was unanimoufly refolved to arreft this marechal and the count of Auvergne, as foon as they arrived. The king afterwards demanded if it would not be proper to do the like by the dukes of Bouillon and Epernon, before they left the court. Almoft all the counfellors were of this opinion, and the moft diftinguifhed amongft them qualified it no otherwife, than by faying that Biron was the only one to whom mercy might be afterwards extended, becaufe that acting nothing by himfelf he would be eafily reduced to reafon, when he was feparated from thofe who hurried him on to his ruin. I took particular notice of this advice upon account of its fingularity: mine, however, was directly oppofite: I could not approve of the arreſting of Epernon, or even of Bouillon: if in fuch cafes fufpicions were to ferve for proofs, it was likewife neceffary, I faid, to arreft all whom La-Fin had accufed, and myfelf the firft; that, in cafe they fhould afterwards be found innocent,

† Peter Forgeu, lord of Defcures.

they

they would, by this precipitate action, lose an opportunity of seizing Biron and Auvergne, whose treasons were manifest, since it would be impossible to arrest them all at the same time, and their flight would put it out of our power to prove any thing against the prisoners. The arresting of Bouillon and Epernon, I added, would have this farther ill consequence, that, whether guilty or innocent, his majesty could not dispense with himself from treating them as traitors, through a just fear of what their resentment only of such public outrage might induce them to act against him. The king yielded to this advice, and the council broke up, it being already dinner time. His majesty, being desirous of conferring with me alone upon what had been debated in the council, bid me snatch a soldier's dinner, and come back to him before the court filled again.

When I went down into the hall, where I was waited for by a croud of people who attach themselves to men in power, I saw the duke of Epernon advancing to meet me, who, with the same air of conscious innocence which I had before observed in him, told me, that such long and secret councils alarmed a great many persons, but he was not of the number, because he had nothing to reproach himself with. I replied, that he had then nothing to fear, the king being more disposed to pardon the guilty, who confessed their crimes, than to punish the innocent on suspicions only. "I perceive," added I, "many people who are leaving the court, "but those whose consciences are clear need not "have recourse to that expedient." "I am one "of these," added Epernon, "and I am resolved "not to leave the court while these discontents con-"tinue." "You cannot do better, monseigneur," replied I; "and I promise you, that, on this occa-"sion, you shall not lose the merit of having taken "so good a resolution."

When I came home, I ordered my maitre d'hotel

not to furnish my table as usual, but to serve me up any thing that was ready. Nicolas* came in just as I was sitting down to table: "Come wash immediately," said I, without telling him of the orders I had just given, "and take your place." He was greatly astonished to hear me, after I had drank two glasses, and eaten a hasty morsel, ask for the fruit, and, at the same time order my horse to be got ready: he who loved good cheer as well as mirth, was not pleased at this order. "Pardieu, monsieur," said he, "I am not surprised that you pass for one of the "wisest noblemen in France; I don't know any "one who can drink three glasses during the whole "time you are at dinner." "Well, well, monsieur Nicolas," replied I, "do you make an end "of your dinner, as for me I have business that "calls me elsewhere."

I RELATED to his majesty what d'Epernon had said to me a little time before. The king agreed with me that d'Epernon had no inducement to engage in an affair that was carried on by persons, whose religion and disposition were different from his, by which likewise, while he had no advantages to hope for, he ran the hazard of being stript of his estates and employments. D'Epernon had judgment enough to know that the scheme of these rebels was likely to be a fatal one. "Not," said the king, "that probably in his heart he is not glad of these "disorders, that he may become more necessary to "me; but he knows by experience such designs "are often blasted." His majesty charged me to make another effort to prevail upon the dukes of Bouillon and Tremouille to stay at court, but to

* Simon Nicolas was the king's secretary, "a poet, a facetious "man and an old offender, says the Journal of Henry the IVth. be-"lieving in God only for interest, and, for this reason, he became the "more acceptable to company, according to the corrupt manners of "those wretched times. He died two years after, in the 70th year of "his age, in his last illness expressing himself with infamous im-"piety."

wait

wait till he went to Poitiers, becauſe he might then receive intelligence that would determine him. I uſed my utmoſt endeavours for this purpoſe, in the preſence of meſſieurs de La Nouë, de Conſtant, d' Aubigne, and de Preaux, but all were ineffectual.

DURING their majeſty's ſtay at Blois, an affair of a very different nature was in agitation at court, which I am under ſome perplexity in relating, for it made too much noiſe to be paſſed over in ſilence; yet I am not at liberty to enter into an explanation of it here, leſt I ſhould betray the ſecret confided to me only by the king and queen, whom it perſonally concerned; the medium therefore which I ſhall obſerve, is to recount only ſo much of it as got air, and came to the knowledge of the courtiers.

IT was reported that the king and queen had ſome difference together, which was confirmed by the king's ſending Armagnac * for me ſo early in the morning, that he was ſtill in bed, as well as the queen, and contrary to their uſual cuſtom, each in their ſeveral apartments. It was obſerved that I had been ſeveral times backwards and forwards between them, and I had been ſeen kneeling three or four times before the king and queen, as if I was endeavouring to obtain ſome great favour of them. As nothing in ſuch caſes eſcapes the inquiſitive courtiers, each formed particular conjectures upon theſe circumſtances, as alſo that with the names of the king and queen, they heard thoſe of the duke and ducheſs of Florence and Mantua, Virgil, Urſin, Don John, Bellegarde, Trainel, Vinti, Joannini, Conchini, Leonora, Gondy, Catherine Selvage, and the marchioneſs of Verneuil; other perſons, they ſaid, were hinted at, under the covert name of the colour of tan. They endeavoured to diſcover ſomething by my wife, having learned that Conchini, who had often buſineſs with her, and who publicly paid her

* Firſt gentleman of the bed-chamber to the king.

the ſame reſpect as a ſervant to his miſtreſs, and often addreſſed her by that title, had been ſeveral times ſent by the queen to bring her, and that ſhe paſſed many whole afternoons ſhut up with her majeſty in her cloſet, when ſhe was alone, or when only Leonora was with her.

But that which afforded moſt matter for diſcourſe, was that, at the time when theſe diſputes ran higheſt, La Varenne came one morning to acquaint me, that the king waited for me in the new gallery which he had lately cauſed to be built at Blois, over thoſe that were the length of the garden below: it is that in which there is the odd repreſentation of a hind with a ſtag's horns. It was obſerved, that his majeſty ordered two Swiſs, who underſtood not a word of French, to be placed centinels at the end of this gallery which was not yet cloſed up; and that, during two hours and more which we continued together, we ſeemed to talk with great earneſtneſs and action. They might, notwithſtanding the diſtance, hear ſome of our words, from which they could draw no lights; but it was not the ſame with thoſe which his majeſty ſpoke when he went out; theſe they underſtood and carefully remembered. "No more need "be ſaid of it. I will regulate my whole conduct "by your advice, ſaid the king, that I may be no "longer reproached with obſtinately following my "own will; but remember, that we may probably "both repent it one day, for you cannot but be affected with any misfortunes that happen to me. "I know the diſpoſition of thoſe perſons who foment our differences, they will be the cauſe of "great uneaſineſs to the ſtate: gentleneſs and indulgence are laudable qualities, I confeſs; but "you cannot deny alſo, that their extremes are "dangerous." It was not difficult for them likewiſe to diſtinguiſh the latter part of my reply to the king: "It was indeed, a part of prudence, I told "him,

" him, to foreſee and to prevent bad accidents, but " it was equally neceſſary to avoid haſtening them " by uſeleſs precautions." On this they founded their ſuſpicion, that the king had a deſign to proceed to ſome violent meaſures againſt certain perſons of the queen's † houſhold, and who were moſt in her confidence.

FROM Blois the king came to Poitiers; he afterwards ſhewed himſelf in the Limoſin and Guienne: his preſence produced every where ſo good an effect, that he found no oppoſition to his will, not even to the eſtabliſhment of the penny in the livre †: he might have afterwards continued this impoſt, and the collecting of it would have met with no difficulty; but, ſatisfied with the ſubmiſſion of his people, he took that opportunity to change it into a ſmall ſubſidy, and afterwards to ſuppreſs it entirely. The edict of revocation expreſſed, that his majeſty was wholly induced to it by the obedience of his ſubjects. Henry, pleaſed with the ſucceſs of his journey §, returned again to Fontainebleau, whither he was ſoon followed by marechal Biron.

THE conſternation his party was thrown into by

† This is ſpeaking very plainly; and as the other Memoirs of that time all agree with this notion, it can ſcarce be doubted, that Henry had not only taken a reſolution to clear the court of theſe informers, who exaſperated the queen's mind againſt him, but likewiſe to make this princeſs ſenſible of her indiſcretion, by forbearing to ſee her, and obliging her to live at a diſtance from him in one of his palaces, and perhaps by ſending her back to Florence. We may ſee, in the Hiſtory of the Mother and Son, tom. I. p. 9. that this prince had threatened her both with the one and the other. It is probable that M. de Roſny thought this laſt courſe rather too violent, as, in fact, it was, all circumſtances conſidered.

† La Septennaire ſays, that M. de Roſny was ſent for this purpoſe by his majeſty to Rochelle; and that he was commiſſioned by the Rochellers to make remonſtrances to the king, for ſuppreſſing the pancarte or tariff of this impoſt.

§ During this journey to Poitiers, ſays La Septennaire, which laſted near two months, the court ſeemed melancholy, the king penſive; no councils, no judicial proceedings were held, except at Blois: all which was owing to the public and private diſquiets of Henry, of which mention has already been made.

the

the king's journey, convinced him that his affairs were not ſo far advanced as he had been willing to believe; this made him take a reſolution to go to court, which ſeveral other motives contributed to confirm. His treaty with Spain and Savoy was not yet upon ſuch a footing, as could give him hopes of having an immediate ſupply of what troops and money he had occaſion for. Too glaring an oppoſition of the king's will might raiſe ſuſpicions of his treaſonable practices, which hitherto he imagined had eſcaped notice; nor was it unlikely, as the baron de Lux, his friend and confidant, repreſented to him, that the king, upon his repeated refuſals to appear before him, would march directly to him with an army, as to a declared rebel; which would be a fatal ſtroke to the marechal, who was neither in a condition to defend himſelf, nor to retire into any of his fortreſſes, which were unprovided with ammunition of every kind, particularly of artillery.

I HAD prepared Biron for this ſtroke, by the precautions I took ſome months before: I repreſented to him, that it was neceſſary all the pieces of cannon in the fortified places in Burgundy ſhould be caſt over again, and the powder new beat. The attention with which I applied myſelf to all the duties of my employment, as grand maſter, was alone ſufficient to have made this propoſal paſs unſuſpected; but that I might not give the leaſt umbrage by it to the marechal, I was the firſt to offer him to ſupply the deficiencies, by furniſhing him with plenty of every thing that was neceſſary from the arſenal of Lyons, which I had lately filled with great care. I conſented that Biron ſhould diſpatch ſome of his ſoldiers to Lyons, to eſcort the boats that were to be loaded with the pieces of cannon I was to ſend him, and that he ſhould receive them before he ſent away thoſe he already had. He was ignorant that I had taken ſach meaſures every where, that the boats from Lyons which went by the Saone very ſlowly, were

were ſtopped by the way, till thoſe that came from Burgundy had got beyond the places under his juriſdiction; and when both were in my power, my boats proceeded no farther.

BIRON did not perceive the artifice I had made uſe of till it was out of his power to prevent it: he diſcovered ſo violent a rage againſt me, and boaſted ſo publicly that he would poignard me, that the king wrote to me never to go out without a good guard. I had likewiſe, as if without deſign, poſted the light horſe upon the paſſage of the Loin. But all this, which Biron probably believed to be done only to mortify him, could not open his eyes: De Lux and he drew no other inference from the impoſſibility they were now under of defending themſelves, but that it was neceſſary they ſhould receive the king, till by foreign aſſiſtance they had provided for their ſecurity. Deſcures and Jeannin acted in ſuch a manner with them, as to encreaſe this confidence; and La-Fin had not only given Biron * the ſtrongeſt aſſurance that he had not betrayed him, but likewiſe, that he had ſought for an interview with the king with no other view than to ſound him, and that he had found him very far from gueſſing the truth. This he again confirmed to him at Fontainebleau, where, as he paſſed him, he ſaid theſe words; "Courage, my maſter, and ſpeak boldly." The council had likewiſe ſo carefully kept the ſecret, that the court was wholly unacquainted with what was deſigned againſt Biron; d'Epernon hearing of his arrival at Fontainebleau, ſent him ſuch offers of ſervice as are uſual amongſt perſons of high rank §; in which, after

* The marechal de Biron imagined that he had ſeen the treaty that was made with Spain flung into the fire; but La-Fin deceived him, by burning, inſtead of it, a piece of waſte-paper.

§ The duke d'Epernon did not deny, that upon this occaſion he had perform'd all the offices of a friend to marechal de Biron: "When he converſed with him upon this affair, ſays the hiſtorian of "his life, he did not do it in ambiguous terms, as others did, but "with great openneſs and ſincerity: He acquainted him with La-"Fin's treachery, and ſhewed him all the proofs of it, and exhorted him

what had passed at Blois, he was guilty of great imprudence, as he has since confessed himself.

I HAD taken a tour to Moret when Biron arrived at court; the king sent me notice of it in the following billet: "My friend, our man is come: he affects "great modesty and reserve; haste hither speedily, "that you may advise us what is to be done: Adieu, "my dear friend." I returned immediately, and found the king walking before the pavillion where I was lodged, with Praslin †, whom he left to come to me. He took my hand, and continuing his

"him to throw himself upon the king's mercy. This clears the "duke d'Epernon. Du Plessis-Bausonniere, a gentleman of ho- "nour, and very much attached to the duke (it is the same whom "he sent to meet the marechal) was the person employed to use all "sorts of arguments to prevail with him to ask the king's pardon: "hence this gentleman, assured of his own and his patron's inno- "cence, could never be induced to retire into a foreign country, af- "ter that the king, who was not ignorant of this step, had caused the "marechal de Biron to be arrested; in which he did the duke "d'Epernon a considerable service. And he afterwards gave him a "second piece of advice, which proved very successful, and that was, "to confess freely to his majesty all his proceedings with the mare- "chal Biron, with what views and intentions he had treated with "him." The same historian, in this account, throws in some hints, which discover the very bottom of the duke d'Epernon's sentiments, and which at the same time serve to shew his character: "The duke d'Epernon, says he, and Biron, having gone together to "the Louvre to pay their compliments after dinner, his majesty be- "ing told beforehand of their coming, placed himself at a window, "to observe, through the glass, their motions and countenance. "A friend of the duke d'Epernon, who was about the king, gave "him notice of this, that he might regulate his behaviour accord- "ingly. But he acted quite contrary to what he was advised; and "being more and more confirmed in the testimony he received from "his conscience of his innocence, and filled with a just and high in- "dignation to see his fidelity suspected, he walked on with an up- "right countenance, and his eyes directed towards the window where "he knew the king leaned. This his majesty took particular notice of, "and made those about him do so too. The king afterwards made "a match at tennis, in which the count de Soissons, with the king, "played against the duke d'Epernon and the marechal." It is at this match that the historians of that time make the duke utter a good saying, telling the marechal, "that he played well, but chose his "side badly." Hist. de la vie du duc d'Epernon. an. 1602. p. 205.

† Charles de Choiseul, marquis de Praslin, captain of the first company of guards, died a marechal of France in the year 1626.

walk-

walk, told me, that he had in vain endeavoured, by every method he could think of, to extort from Biron † a confeſſion of his crime, although he was ſo little capable of concealing his thoughts, that he read them plainly in his countenance. His majeſty afterwards laid open to me his moſt ſecret ſentiments with regard to the marechal; he ſtill felt for him all his former tenderneſs, and beheld him not with reſentment, but compaſſion: ardently he wiſhed, that I would ſuggeſt to him the means by which, without incurring any danger, he might avoid treating him as a ſtate criminal: but this was not eaſy to be done, conſidering the diſpoſition Biron was known to be of; if it was dangerous to ſuffer him to eſcape, when he ſhewed no ſigns of repentance, it was no leſs ſo to releaſe him upon his word, after letting him know that he had proofs of his treaſon.

THE king once more reſumed a reſolution ſuggeſted to him by the natural ſweetneſs of his temper, which was, to endeavour to reſtore the marechal to a right way of thinking; but as he had not been able to ſucceed in this attempt himſelf, he ordered me to undertake it, and promiſed me to avow all I ſhould ſay to Biron to engage his ſubmiſſion, provided that

† The king, wearied out with his obſtinacy, ſuddenly left him, ſaying, as he went away, "Well, I muſt learn the truth elſewhere: "Adieu, baron de Biron." Theſe words were like lightning before a clap of thunder, that ſtruck him to the ground: the king thereby degrading him from thoſe many high dignities to which he had advanced him. The ſame day, after ſupper, the count de Soiſſons alſo exhorted him, in the king's name, to own truth to him; and concluded his remonſtrance with this ſentence of the wiſe man, "The "anger of kings is the forerunner of death." Pereſ. ibid. After dinner, ſays le Septennaire, he came to wait on the king, who was walking in his grand hall, where his majeſty, ſhewing him his ſtatue in relievo triumphing over the vanquiſhed, ſays to him, "Well cou- "ſin, if the king of Spain had ſeen me thus, what would he ſay?" To which he lightly made anſwer, "Sir, he would fear you but "little." All the lords that were preſent took notice of this preſumptuous anſwer, and the king looking ſternly at him, Biron, who obſerved it, explained his meaning, by adding, "I mean, Sir, that "ſtatue, but not this perſon.

I gave him no hint of what La-Fin had said, to prevent the design of arresting him, to which he must have recourse if the marechal persisted in his obstinacy. "If he opens himself freely to you, said the "king, upon the confidence you must endeavour to "inspire him with of my favourable intentions "towards him, assure him, that he may come "to me without fear, and confess all; and if "he disguises no part of the truth, I promise you, "upon my royal word, I will pardon him chear-"fully."

I WENT to the castle to see the marechal, who was in his majesty's chamber, talking to La-Curée at the head of the bed. I had a sufficient number of attendants with me: and the marechal, seeing his people make way at my approach, advanced to salute me, but did it very coldly. I thought I ought to begin, by endeavouring to soften the resentment I knew he entertained against me: "How is this! "monsieur, said I, embracing him, you salute me "with the gravity of a senator, contrary to your usual "custom; you must not be thus reserved, embrace "me a second time, and let us talk freely." When we were seated, and out of the hearing of any person in the room, "Well, monsieur," said I, in an obliging tone, "what a strange man are you! "have you yet paid your respects to the king? "how were you received by him? what has he said "to you? you know his disposition is frank and "open, he likes others to be sincere with him; I "am told you behaved in a very reserved manner "to him, which was far from being seasonable, "nor did it suit with either his temper or yours: I "am your kinsman, your friend, and your servant, "take my counsel, and you will find it will be use-"ful to you; tell me freely what you have upon "your heart, and depend upon it I will procure you "satisfaction; be not apprehensive that I will deceive "you." To all this Biron contented himself with

reply--

replying in a cold and indifferent manner, "I "have waited on the king with all the reverence "and respect that I owe him; I have answered all "his questions, which were only on general mat- "ters; nor had I any thing more to say to him." "Ah! monsieur, replied I, it is not thus that you "ought to act with the king: you know the good- "ness of his heart, open yours to him, and declare "freely to him, or to me, if you had rather it should "be so, all your grievances; and I promise that, "before night you shall be satisfied with each other." "I have nothing more to say either to the king "or to you than what I have aleady said, returned "the marechal; but, if his majesty entertains any "suspicion of me, or thinks I have given him any "cause of complaint against me, let him or you ac- "quaint me with the occasion of these suspicions "and disgusts, and I will give you satisfaction." "The king," said I, in my eagerness to save him, "is offended at your coldness; for as to other par- "ticulars, added I immediately, he is quite igno- "rant; but let your conscience be your judge, and "act in the same manner as if you knew we were "informed of your most secret actions, nay even "your words and thoughts; for I protest to you, "upon my honour, this is the most certain way to "obtain whatever you can desire from the king. "The method I recommend to you I always follow "myself: if it ever happens that I commit any little "fault, I acknowledge and exaggerate it to the "king, who then grants me all I wish: if you will "believe me and take my counsel, dear marechal, "pursued I, you and I shall govern the court, and "be at the head of affairs." "I am willing to be- "lieve you," replied Biron with the same coldness, "but I have nothing to accuse myself of; I feel my "conscience perfectly at ease, since the confession "I made the king at Lyons." Although I had probably said but too much already, yet I could

not

not hinder myſelf from making him ſtill ſeveral other inſtances, which he received no better, and ſoon after withdrew to his own lodgings.

THE king entering that moment, I repeated to him all that I had ſaid to Biron, and his anſwers. "You have gone rather too far, ſaid this prince to "me, and have ſaid enough to create ſome ſuſpicion "in him, and even to induce him to fly. Go into "that gallery," added his majeſty, after reflecting ſome moments upon the blindneſs and obſtinacy with which the marechal hurried on to his ruin, "and "wait for me there; I would talk to my wife and "you alone." Accordingly he returned a ſhort time afterwards with the queen, and ſhutting the door of the gallery, he told us, that the double obligation he was under, as a king and father, to watch over the ſafety and happineſs of the ſtate, leaving him no other part to take but that of arreſting marechal Biron and the count d'Auvergne, all that now remained was to conſider how to do it ſecurely †. His majeſty was of opinion, that we ſhould wait till the marechal and the count were retired each to his reſpective lodging, and that then ſoldiers ſhould be ſent to inveſt them. I propoſed that they ſhould be

† It would not have been done, if the marechal de Biron had taken advantage of the notice that was given him. A certain perſon put a letter into his hand, as he was going to wait on the king after ſupper, in the name of the counteſs de Rouſſy his ſiſter; and, as he inquired what news, upon finding that the bearer made no anſwer, he doubted ſomething elſe was the matter; and, after opening the letter, he found notice given him that, if he did not make his retreat in two hours, he would be arreſted, and directly ſhewed it to one of his friends called De Carbonnieres, who ſaid to him, Then, adieu, ſir, I wiſh I had a poignard in my breaſt, provided you were now ſafe in Burgundy. To this he made anſwer, Suppoſe I were there, and that I were to have four in mine, upon receiving the king's orders, I would immediately come hither. Notwithſtanding this, he went into the king's chamber, where he played at primero with the queen, and in the midſt of his game, the ſieur de Mergé, a gentleman of Burgundy, was obſerved to whiſper ſomewhat in his ear, which the marechal not regarding, the count d'Auvergne came alſo, and twice touched him on the ſide, telling him, it is not ſafe for us to be here. Sept. ibid.

in

in the king's closet till the night was far advanced; and that, after the greater part of the courtiers, weary of waiting for his majesty's retiring, should be withdrawn, they should then be seized as they went out of the king's apartment. "I do not see how "this can be done, replied Henry, without having "my chamber and closet filled with blood; for "they will not fail to draw their swords, and de- "fend themselves. If this should happen, I had ra- "ther it were in their apartment than mine." I thought it of most consequence, upon this occasion, to avoid, as much as possible, all noise and confusion; but the king continuing firm in his first proposal, took leave of me, bidding me go home to supper, "and at nine o'clock, said he, let your horses "be prepared, and you and all your people be boot- "ed, ready to mount and set out when I send for "you."

I WITHDREW to my pavillion, where, after giving orders conformable to those I had received from his majesty, I went into my closet, from whence I could see all that passed about Biron's apartment, which was in the pavillion opposite to mine. I read and walked about alternately, without neglecting to observe what was doing on that side where I expected soon to see the attack begun, and to receive new orders from the king. The clock struck nine, ten, and eleven, yet nothing was done; at length midnight came, yet all was quiet: I am afraid, said I, returning into my chamber, where all my domestics waited for the scene that was preparing, some at play, some in conversation, and others asleep, I am afraid, said I, that they have not taken their measures right, and have suffered the birds, which with so little difficulty thy might have taken, to escape, and which will not be easily entrapped again. I then ordered them to saddle my horses, and pack up my baggage, while I went into my closet, and wrote a few words.

I CONTINUED there half an hour, after which I heard a noiſe at the door of my pavillion next the garden, and a voice that cried, "Monſieur, the king "ſends for you." I looked out at the window, and knew the meſſenger to be La Varenne, who went on ſaying, "Monſieur, come immediately, the "king wants to ſpeak with you, and to ſend you "to Paris, to give the neceſſary orders there, for "meſſieurs de Biron and d'Auvergne are made pri-"ſoners." "And where were they taken, ſaid I †." "In the king's cloſet," he replied. "God be "praiſed, ſaid I, that the king has followed that ad-"vice." I ran directly to his majeſty's apartment. "Our men are ſeized, ſaid he to me, mount your "horſe, and go and prepare their lodgings in the "Baſtile; I ſhall ſend them in a boat to the gate of "the arſenal next the river: make them land there, "that they may not be ſeen, and carry them with-"out any noiſe through the midſt of your courts "and gardens. When you have made proper diſ-"poſitions in the arſenal for their reception, if you "can before they arrive, which they will do ſoon "after you, go to the parliament and the town-"houſe, and declare there what has happened; tell "them that, at my arrival, they ſhall know the rea-"ſons for this proceeding, which they will find to "be juſt." All theſe orders were happily and exactly executed. At the very moment the priſoners

† Vitry arreſted the marechal de Biron as he came out of the king's antichamber. "Sir, ſays he to him, the king has commanded me "to give him an account of your perſon: deliver me your ſword." "You but jeſt," replies Biron to him. "Sir, rejoins Vitry, the "king has ſo commanded me." "Pray, ſays the marechal again, "let me ſpeak to the king." "No, Sir, returns Vitry, the king is "retired to reſt." Praſlin waited at the ſame time for the count d'Auvergne at the gate of the caſtle, to whom, as he came out, he ſaid, "You are the king's priſoner." "What I, I, return-"ed the count d'Auvergne much ſurpriſed." "Yes you, Sir, ſays "Praſlin to him. I arreſt you in the king's name: deliver me your "ſword." "Here take it, replies the count, it has never killed any "but wild boars: if you had acquainted me ſooner of this, I would "have been in bed and aſleep two hours ago.

landed

landed at the arsenal, my wife was brought to bed of that daughter of mine who bore the title of mademoiselle de Sully.

I GAVE the care of the prisoners to the soldiers of the king's guards joined to my own, and posted them in such a manner that they might be said to be guards upon each other. I likewise placed a guard upon the bastion opposite to the windows in the prisoners apartment, and another upon the terrace of the tower; so that, as I wrote to the king, it was impossible they should escape, unless by the interposition of angels. The repeated advices I received from his majesty obliged me to take all these precautions. A few days after the detention of the prisoners, the king wrote to me, that he was informed, there was a scheme laid to procure their escape, ordering me to watch them carefully, for that I should answer for them. I consented to this condition, relying on the fidelity of my soldiers, who, to make an escape practicable, must have been corrupted every one. Another time the king sent me notice, that the plot which was formed for delivering Biron and d'Auvergne, was also against my person: a boat full of soldiers was in the night to come up the river, and the men were to land at the steps of a gate behind my apartment which looked upon the river, that they were to force open this gate with a petard, to do the same by the second, and get into my chamber while I was in bed, and carry me to Franche-Comté, fresh horses being in readiness for them at the end of every ten leagues; and that, when in possession of my person, they were to deal with me by way of reprisal, as Biron should be dealt with. This last information, although so circumstantial, appeared to me as frivolous as the rest: I thanked his majesty, however, for giving it to me. He had the goodness to command me to be strictly attentive to my own safety, assuring me, that, if the designs which was laid against me should succeed, he would

not

not hesitate a moment to purchase me at the price of freeing the prisoners, and, if there were occasion, by a still greater concession. To satisfy him, I placed a small guard likewise at this gate.

The first president, the president de * Blancmesnil, and the two counsellors de Fleury and de Thurin, were named by the parliament to interrogate the prisoners, whom, for this purpose, I ordered to be carried into a small pavillion in the midst of the great walk of the arsenal: as it was necessary likewise that they should be examined in full parliament, I caused a covered boat to be prepared from them, in which they were carried thither and brought back again, without been seen. The history of this trial, and all the particulars of the event I am now relating, are known to every one; and that marechal Biron †, seeing Miron, the lieutenant-civil, at the foot of the scaffold, gave him a caution against La-Fin, took his leave of the elder Rumigny, entreating him to bear his respects to mademoiselle de Rumigny, which, he said was all the present he had to make her; and many circumstances of the like nature. The sudden sallies of rage, the terrors and weakness which this man ‡, who, amidst the greated dangers of

* Achilles de Harlay, the first president; Nicholas de Potier, sieur de Blancmesnil, president; Stephen de Fleury, dean; Philibert de Thurin counsellor of the grand chamber.

† The particular account of this affair, to which the author here refers, is to be found in all the historians, and in many other writings.

‡ These inward agitations had almost deprived him of his senses, and gave great trouble to the assistants, especially to the executioner, who durst not let him see his sword, and who yet took his opportunity so well, by amusing the marechal, that he made his head fly off at one blow, which he gave so dextrously that it was scarcely seen. I cannot forbear mentioning, to the honour of learning, that marechal Biron the father was as remarkable for erudition, as the son for ignorance; he could scarcely read. The following account of him, from the Chronologie Septennaire, will serve to finish his character. The author, after observing that he had almost all the qualities necessary to make a great warrior, namely, that he was brave, successful, indefatigable, sober, and temperate, adds, "He was particularly fond "of splendor, proud, and ostentatious, and even has been often known "to despise the pleasures of the table and live abstemiously, that he "might

war, had acquired the character of intrepid, ſhewed at his execution, have furniſhed matter for much diſcourſe, and doubtleſs will not be forgot by hiſtorians: as for me, I have nothing new to relate, except, perhaps, ſome circumſtances that regard me perſonally.

WHILE preparations were making for trying the two ſtate priſoners, they often deſired to ſpeak with me*: two conſiderations hindered me from giving

" might gratify his fantaſtic paſſion for glory; he was daring in battle, and immeaſurably ambitious: he was ſo preſumptuous as to believe that neither the king nor France could do without him; he was alſo become ſo malevolent and ſlanderous, that he ſpoke ill of all princes; he has been often heard to ridicule the maſs, and make a jeſt of the pretended reformed: there are numberleſs inſtances given of his having but little religion; he relied very much on the predictions of aſtrologers and divines." The author after this gives an account of an adventure that happened to him as he was going to conſult, under a borrowed name, the old aſtrologer La Broſſe, the ſame of whom M. de Sully ſpeaks ſo often in his memoirs. " This good man, ſays he, who was then in a little tower or garret that ſerved him for a ſtudy, ſaid to him, Well, my ſon, I ſee the perſon for whom this horoſcope is caſt will arrive at great honours, through his diligence and military bravery, and might come to be a king, but there is a *caput algol* that keeps him from it." " And what is the meaning of that, ſays the baron de Biron." " Don't aſk me the meaning of it, returns La Broſſe?" " No, ſays the baron, but I muſt know." After many altercations between them, La Broſſe at length ſaid, " The meaning is this, my friend, he will do ſo much that he ſhall have his head cut off." Upon this, the baron fell upon him and beat him cruelly, and afterwards leaving him half dead, came down from the garret, taking the key of the door with him. This account is filled with other pretended predictions that were made him, and to which I think no man of ſenſe would have ſhewn any regard.

* He requeſted the ſieur de Baranton, M. de Praſlin's lieutenant, to wait on M. Roſny from him, and tell him that he deſired to ſee him; but, if that favour could not be obtained, he earneſtly begged of him to intercede with the king for his life, a piece of ſervice which he expected from him, as he always had a great eſteem for him, and found him to be his friend, and ſuch a friend that, had he been perſuaded by him, he would not have been in the place where he then was; that there were perſons more guilty than himſelf, but that he was the moſt unfortunate of them all; that he was content to be confined between four bare walls and chained down. The earneſt entreaties which the ſieur de Baranton made in his name ſo greatly affected M. de Roſny and his lady, the ſieur Zamet, and others, who were preſent, that they were unable to ſpeak for ſome time, and ſat liſtening in tears. At length M. de Roſny broke ſilence and ſaid, " I cannot ſee him nor intercede for him, it is now too late; had he been perſuaded by

them this satisfaction; first, because it would be to no purpose to hear the prayers and solicitations of Biron, whose death was too necessary for the good of the state, and too firmly resolved by the king, to give hopes of obtaining his pardon; and secondly, having been comprehended myself in La-Fin's depositions, I was not willing to give either weak or malignant persons room to suspect that I had used any endeavours with the prisoners to keep them silent with regard to me, or that I had any occasion to speak to them. It was my design, on the other hand, that, if any supposed me to have had the least connexion with Biron, they should think that, by thus refusing to see him, I should make him resolve to live no longer on terms of civility with a man whom, upon that supposition, he must, for many reasons, regard as a traitor. He reverenced my innocence, and if he spoke of me, as he often did, it was only to praise the counsels I had given him, and to condemn himself for not following them.

Deffunctis, grand-provost of the Isle-de-France, took down in writing all the conversations in which marechal Biron had mentioned my name, and gave the manuscript to me some time afterwards. By that I learned that Biron, when he came out of the chapel, where he had made his confession to the sieurs Garnier and Maignan doctors of the Sorbonne, asked if there was no person there belonging to monsieur de Rosny; and being told that the younger Arnaud was there, he called him and said, "Monsieur Arnaud, I desire you will carry my last farewel to monsieur de Rosny, and tell him, that to-

"me, he had not been in this melancholy situation, for he ought to "have declared the truth to his majesty, from the time of his arrival "at Fontainebleau; and since he did not so, he has taken from the "king the means of giving him his life, and from all his friends that "of interceding for him." Chronologie Septennaire, ann. 1602. See the whole of this affair in the historian Matthieu, tom. II. liv. iii. p. 482, to 534, where an account given of what relates to the duke of Sully is conformable to that in our Memoirs.

"day

" day he loſes one of his beſt friends, and the moſt " affectionate kinſman and ſervant he ever had: I " have always highly eſteemed his merit, and va- " lued his friendſhip. Alas!" ſaid he, after raiſing his voice and ſhedding ſome tears, which obliged him to keep his face covered with his handkerchief, " had I believed him, I ſhould have avoided this " fate: tell him, I beſeech you, that I recommend " my brothers to him, particularly my brother * " Saint Blancard who is his nephew, and that I in- " treat he will give my youngeſt brother ſome poſt " about the dauphin, and that he would tell them " that, although I have failed in my duty and obe- " dience, yet that they ought faithfully to perform " theirs, and continue always firm in their attach- " ment to the king; but that he would not let " them come immediately to court, leſt they ſhould " ſuffer any reproaches on my account." Another time Biron, talking of me, ſaid, " The king has, " in monſieur de Roſny, a faithful ſervant, and a " wiſe and prudent counſellor; his majeſty has done " well to make uſe of him; for while he continues " to direct his councils, France will be happy, and " I might have been ſo likewiſe, had I governed " myſelf by his advice." On any other occaſion I ſhould have avoided inſerting, in theſe Memoirs, ſuch diſcourſes in my praiſe; but on this I did not think myſelf at liberty to make the leaſt alteration in the marechal's words. I was ignorant of his having given theſe public teſtimonies of his eſteem for me, when I joined with the reſt of his relations † in

* John de Gontaut, ſeigneur de Saint Blancard, had married mademoiſelle de Saint-Geniés, niece to M. de Sully. The marechal de Biron had no other brothers living; he muſt therefore comprehend under that name his brothers-in-law.

† Meſſieur de Saint Blancard, de la Force, the count de Rouſſy, de Chateauneuf, de Thémines, de Salignac, and de Saint Angel, went three days after the arreſt of marechal de Biron, to throw themſelves at the feet of his majeſty, who was then at St. Maur des Foſſés, but they could obtain no other favour than that which our author ſpeaks of here. Henry comforted them by reminding them of the example

imploring a favour for him, a slight one indeed, it was only to change the place destined for his execution; accordingly, instead of the Gréve, which was named in the sentence that was passed upon him, his majesty permitted the marechal to be beheaded in the court of the Bastile.

The death of Biron entirely disconcerted all the schemes of the cabal. Lavardin, who had been sent at the same time by his majesty into Burgundy, at the head of a body of troops, took possession of all the places there which had been held by marechal Biron, without striking a blow, and sent Senecé to inform the king that this province had submitted. The government of it was given to the dauphin, to whom M. Le Grand was made lieutenant. The proceedings against the conspirators stopped here; and, except Fontenelles *, whom Henry thought it necessary to punish for an example to others, although he was not one of the principal criminals, he pardoned all the rest. The number of the conspirators was very great, and, upon examination, many of the most considerable courtiers † were involved in the guilt. I strengthened as much as possible the king's inclinations to lenity: I forewarned those whom I knew to have had some share in the confidence of Biron, and represented to them so plainly, that all

of the constable de Saint Paul, allied to the house of Bourbon, who was beheaded for a similar crime, and the prince of Condé, who would have undergone the same fate, had it not been for the death of Francis II. &c. MS. Bibliot. royale, vol. 9129, where likewise may be seen a collection of pieces relating to the marechal de Biron's process.

* Guy Eder de Beaumanoir, baron de Fontenelles, was a gentleman of Brittany. He was convicted of having intended to deliver up the fort of Douarnenes to the Spaniards, for which he was drawn upon a sledge, and broke alive in the Gréve. "The king, says M. de Perefixe, "in consideration of his family, which was very illustrious, granted "to his relations that, in the arret, he should not be called by his "own name; but history could not conceal it." M. De Thou, liv. 128. speaks of him as of a fellow who had been employed in Brittany by the league.

† According to Siri, there was something more than mere suspicions against the constable de Montmorency, and even against the duke de Montpensier. Mem. recond. vol. I. p. 103.

they

they had now to do was to throw themselves at the king's feet, and implore his pardon; that almost all pursued this method: the secrecy which I promised them will not permit me to mention their names here, and, far from having any cause to repent of a step of which the king and myself only were witnesses, they were soon convinced that his majesty not only took care to shew he had no resentment against them, but likewise appeared to hold them in higher esteem than before. Herbert, who was secretary to the party, and had been several times sent into Milan, and throughout all Italy, by marechal Biron, was likewise arrested. I was ordered to interrogate him in the presence of the count d'Auvergne, and to receive his depositions, the king having promised him a pardon, upon condition that he sincerely declared all he knew. The principal discovery he made, and that which gave the fullest conviction of the perfidy of Spain, was, that Roncas and Alphonso Cazel had been sent by that court at different times with large sums of money to marechal Biron. To convince Herbert that his majesty had no design to deceive him, before I began to examine him, I delivered his pardon, signed by the king, into the hands of the count d'Auvergne.

The baron de Lux was not excepted out of the general amnesty; his perplexity, when he heard of the imprisonment of his friend, had been very great, because he found it equally dangerous to leave, as to stay in the kingdom; he was still undetermined what to do, when La Plume came from his majesty with an order to attend him, promising him his pardon, at the same time, if he would endeavour to deserve it by his obedience and repentance. De Lux, sensible of his guilt, was now more alarmed than before; yet he told the messenger that he was ready to obey the king's orders, provided he would assure him that he should not be exposed to the shame of a public examination, nor be confronted with his

accuſers; that he ſhould be continued in his poſt *, and permitted to retire from court after his confeſſion: he was afraid of being detained, under pretence that it was either not full enough or inſincere. There being no letter from his majeſty, De Lux appeared contented with a promiſe under my hand that he ſhould receive no harm.

THE king having granted all that the baron De Lux demanded, he came to Paris, and meeting his majeſty as he was going to hunt, threw himſelf at his feet, and was beginning a long ſpeech, when the king, who had not leiſure to hear him then, ſtopped him ſhort, by ſaying, "Go to monſieur de Roſny, "and I will talk to you afterwards." This order, the tone with which De Lux fancied it was given, and the place to which he was ſent, raiſed ſuch apprehenſions in his mind, that he was upon the point of making his eſcape. However, he came to the arſenal, but under ſuch terrors, that, inſtead of liſtening to any thing I ſaid to him, he was continually looking round him; and his apprehenſions were increaſed when he ſaw his majeſty's guards enter and file off in the court of the arſenal, the king having ſent them thither, becauſe he intended to paſs by the arſenal in his return from the chace. De Lux now thought himſelf loſt. "Ah! monſieur, ſaid he to "me, I came hither upon the king's word and "yours; do you intend to detain me." "Why "do you aſk me this queſtion, monſieur, ſaid I." "The guards ſaid he, which I perceive entering "in files, perſuaded me that it is not the king "who is coming, but that they are pobably ſent "for me." Without giving me time to undeceive him, he entreated me to allow him to ſpeak to the king before he was confined, promiſing, and I believe very ſincerely, to conceal nothing from him. "I have obſerved your uneaſineſs, replied I, but

* He was governor of the caſtle of Dijon, and the town of Beaune.

"be

" be not afraid, I have no orders to arreſt you; " ſpeak freely to the king, ſwear to be faithful to " him, and keep your oath; you will then have " nothing to apprehend; had the duke of Biron " acted in that manner, he would have been now " alive." That moment a meſſenger informed me that the king was returned to the Louvre, and deſired to ſpeak with me; the evening was ſo far advanced before the chace was ended, that, inſtead of coming to the arſenal, as he had propoſed, he went directly to the palace. This meſſage relieved the baron De Lux from his terrors.

THE next day he had a conference with his majeſty, which laſted above four hours; he gave no cauſe for accuſing him of indiſcretion in concealing his accomplices, but named ſuch a prodigious number of perſons, that Henry, glad to find in ſuch general accuſations a pretence for believing none and for making himſelf eaſy, treated all thoſe whom De Lux accuſed, and who were continually about him, no leſs favourable than before. It is certain, however, that many of them were acquainted with marechal Biron's deſigns; but the hope of remaining unnoticed amongſt the crowd, determined them not to own their connexions with him, notwithſtanding all the advances and promiſes which I made them. The conſtable had indeed kept up a ſort of intimacy with Biron, which in prudence ought to have been avoided; but, as I was perſuaded that it was merely perſonal, and extended no further, I thought myſelf obliged to juſtify him to his majeſty, on whom his aſſurance of fidelity made ſo little impreſſion, that he could not help regarding him with an eye of ſuſpicion: I may ſay with truth, that my endeavours did not a little contribute towards reſtoring him to the king's favour; and this prince had no reaſon to repent of his clemency, to him or any of the others *, except

* It is not certain that Henry IVth never had reaſon to repent of this indulgence. As to the aſſaſſination of this prince, there remains a

only the count of Auvergne, to whom it is time to return.

THE nature of that crime which he, as well as the duke of Biron, had committed, and the equality of the proofs againſt them, made it highly probable that their puniſhment would be alike; however, their fates were very different; the king not only gave him his life, which he cauſed to be intimated to him by the conſtable, but alſo ſoftened, as much as poſſible, the inconvenience of his impriſonment: he permitted him to agree with the lieutenant of the Baſtile for his table, diſcharged him of the expence of the officers and ſoldiers appointed for his guard, and reduced them afterwards to five, comprehending the exempt, upon my repreſentations that a greater number was uſeleſs. At firſt, indeed, he was not allowed to walk upon the terraſſes, but afterwards he was indulged in all his deſires; and at length wholly † diſcharged from his confinement. He had been ſo little accuſtomed to be treated as a criminal, that when he was told the king had granted him his life, he ſaid, it ſignified nothing, unleſs he gave him his liberty likewiſe.

THOSE who praiſe alike the good or bad actions of kings, will not want arguments to juſtify Henry in this different treatment of two equally guilty; they will alledge, as it was then reported at court, that the ſervices his majeſty might expect from the

great many doubts, the clearing of which becomes more and more difficult: but by ſuppoſing what is very likely, namely, that the blow which took off Henry IV. did not proceed from the conſpiracy here ſpoken of, we may ſtill believe that this cataſtrophe had not happened, if the conſpirators had been proſecuted with more ſeverity: in this caſe it muſt be allowed, that Henry IV. and M. de Roſny were deceived by their too great lenity, of which the prince became the victim. What the author ſays four lines higher of thoſe who boldly concealed themſelves among the crowd, ſufficiently ſhews, that the ſpirit of revolt was not extinguiſhed by the death of its head.

† In the beginning of October. "It was not, ſays le Septennaire, "without having firſt made an open confeſſion to meſſieurs the chancellor, de Sillery, and Roſny."

count

count of Auvergne, in discovering to him the plots of the Spanish party against France, made it necessary to pardon him for his own interest. For my own part, I am too candid not to confess, that on this occasion the king gave no proof of his clemency, but of his passion for the marchioness of Verneuil, sister to the count of Auvergne; which was the sole cause of the indulgence he shewed to the count. However, I concealed my thoughts with great care, and, during two years, never mentioned a word to the king upon the subject, being persuaded, that all the arguments I could use at the time would have no force against the prayers and tears of a mistress; and when the thing was done, it was to no purpose to shew him his error. It was not till after the count of Auvergne had, by new instances of ingratitude, obliged his benefactor to proceed against him as a criminal, that I just hinted my thoughts of his former conduct, and then I was forced to it by the king himself.

One day, when the king and I were alone, the conversation turned upon this subject; and Henry, after viewing me silently for some time, at length told me, that he had been often greatly surprized at my not asking him his reasons for preserving the count of Auvergne. I replied, that I had thought it my duty to keep my conjectures on that head to myself, among which there were two that appeared to me to be the most probable, but that I never chose to explain myself to his majesty, for fear of offending him. Henry answered immediately, with his usual vivacity, that he could easily guess, that one of the motives to which I attributed the favour he had shewn the prisoner, regarded the marchioness of Verneuil; and assured me, that that alone had been but sufficient to have commuted his punishment into a perpetual imprisonment; but that he was absolutely ignorant of the second, to which I supposed his deliverance had been owing, and pressed me repeat-

edly to tell him what it was. I confeſſed to him, that it had been always my opinion that his majeſty would not inflict a ſhameful death upon a man who would be always conſidered as the uncle of his children, in caſe he ſhould have any by the marchioneſs of Verneuil. Henry ſwore to me, that he had not hitherto carried his reflections ſo far, although that conſideration, if it had occurred to him, would have had great weight with him; and he inſiſted upon my gueſſing, in my turn, the true reaſon that had induced him to ſet Auvergne at liberty: he again repeated to me, that the ſolicitations of his miſtreſs, the intreaties of the conſtable, his three daughters, and of Ventadour, who had all thrown themſelves at his feet, had not had ſo great a ſhare in that reſolution as I imagined, they having contented themſelves with aſking only the life of the priſoner. And at length, after all this winding, he declared to me, that his chief inducement to pardon Auvergne was the great promiſes he made him, and the air of ſincerity with which they were accompanied: he then related to me all that had paſſed between himſelf and Auvergne, when the latter implored the favour of a conference with him: he told me, that the count, after many aſſurances of a ſincere repentance, and proteſtations of inviolable fidelity for the future, had promiſed him, with the moſt ſacred oaths, if he would reſtore him to liberty, to get him intelligence of the moſt ſecret reſolutions that were taken in the council of Spain; to accompliſh which, he had only to reſume, in appearance, his former engagements with that court, well knowing how to deceive them, and to make them take for true, what on his ſide would be only feigned: but that this diſſimulation might not, in Spain, draw upon him the puniſhment of a traitor, it was neceſſary that his majeſty ſhould not reveal to any of his miniſters what he then ſaid, nor take umbrage at his journeys to Spain, nor the packets he ſhould receive from thence.

THE king, after this recital, added, that it was with difficulty he could bring himself to believe the promises Auvergne made him, or suppose that he could fall so low, as to take up the trade of a spy, and become a double traitor; but that after the count had assured him he really meant to perform all he had engaged for, although he hated him more than ever, yet he was determined to expect the effect of his promises, and make use of him to procure such intelligence concerning the proceedings of Spain, as he could obtain by no other means; and in this expectation, he had promised Auvergne secrecy, and the other condition he had demanded.

THE conclusion I came to, from what the king told me, was, that he was every way deceived by the count of Auvergne, or rather, I repeat it again, betrayed by his passion for his mistress: this was the fascination that closed his eyes upon the artifice of Auvergne; and, after having prevailed upon him to spare his life, snatched from him likewise the grant of his liberty, and that upon so slight a foundation, as does little honour to the prudence of Henry. It is not clear, indeed, whether Auvergne had not then an inclination to keep his word; but by suffering himself to be seduced a second time, became once more a traitor to his prince.

It must likewise be confessed, that he was ingenious, subtle, penetrating, and naturally eloquent; qualities very fit for the part he had undertaken to act: but, not to mention his ambition, his inclination to debauchery, and other dangerous passions, he had in his heart such a fund of malice and perfidiousness, that it was easy to see he would resume his former dispositions; but he resumed them with so much address, that the king did not perceive when it happened, taking it for granted, that it did not happen the very moment he found himself secure. He often conferred with his majesty concerning the king of Spain, and related very bad things of him,

the better to play his part; but all he said might be reduced to matters of little consequence; while, to the court of Spain, he gave very exact and very material informations of every thing that passed in France. I shall return to him again in another place.

The prince of Joinville *, to whom Henry likewise extended his clemency, was a young man of a different character; nothing could be more light, more whimsical, and more unsteady; he had engaged himself with bad company, among whom, to be in the fashion, and to appear a man of consequence, it was necessary that he should have correspondences without the kingdom; this was sufficient to ruin him entirely. His majesty being informed that he carried on his intrigues with Spain by the count of Chamnite, governor of Franche-Comté for the king of Spain, and one of his ministers, he ordered him to be arrested: as soon as he found himself in custody, he, like all the others, declared, that he was ready to make a full confession, provided it was to the king in person, and that I should be present. I had left Paris in the evening, to visit my new acquisition of Sully, and to trace out the plan of some buildings there, to render it more habitable than it was at present. I was just arrived, and preparing to sit down to supper, when I heard his majesty's postilion blow his horn, and immediately suspected my stay at Sully would not be long. He gave me a billet from the king, which contained only an order to come to him, without explaining himself any farther. Believing the business to be of the utmost importance, I set out so early the next morning, that I only saw Sully by the light of the flambeaux. When I was made acquainted with the affair, I thought it my duty to intercede for an unexperienced

† Claude de Lorraine, fourth son to Henry duke of Guise, who was killed at Blois; he was afterwards duke de Chevreuse, and died in 1657.

youth

youth, who was drawn into errors by his rashness and folly. Joinville being brought before us, confessed all he was desired to do. The king, entering immediately into his character, treated him as he deserved; he sent for his mother, the duchess of Guise, and the duke, his brother, and taking them into his closet, "Here, said he, is the prodigal son "himself. I shall use him like a child, and pardon "him for yours and monsieur de Rosny's sake, "who has intreated for him; but I do it upon con- "dition that you will all three reprove him severely; "and that you, nephew" added he, turning to the duke of Guise, "will answer for his conduct for the "future: I give him to your care, make him wise, "if it be possible."

This change was not so easy a thing to effect on a young man of lively passions, incapable of instruction, and whose disposition had already taken its bent: he was suffered to remain in prison for some months, where at first he was obstinately sullen, then insolent and furious, and at last, through mere weariness, promised to behave well, if he was taken from thence. The king consented to his removal, and he was told, that he might go and live in the castle of Dampierre. Joinville was not much better pleased with this place than his prison, and represented to the king, that he could not reside in a castle which was not furnished. Unfortunately for him, the king knew this to be a falsehood: having often hunted near that castle, and Chevreuse, which is but a small distance from it, the keeper of those two houses, had offered to accommodate him with apartments and beds there; and he had been told by the duchess of Guise, that Dampierre was as well furnished as Chevreuse. This behaviour of Joinville's so incensed the king against him, that he reproached me for the too great interest I took in the affairs of that family, and ordered me to concern myself less with them for the future. And now his majesty,

majesty, instead of revoking his sentence, declared that the prisoner should be again examined before he was enlarged; which renewing his former fears, he promised to make a fuller confession than he had yet done; but being, as he said, apprehensive that his majesty was still angry with him, he again entreated that I might be the person to whom he spoke.

The duke of Bouillon took care not to return from his estates, as he had promised the king; therefore, after Biron was arrested, his majesty judged it necessary to write to him, to see if upon this occasion he would not give some proof of his connexion with the prisoner: he informed him, that marechal Biron had been convicted of conspiring against the state; and that when he came to court he would shew him the proofs of his treason, and acquaint him with all the particulars of it; satisfying himself with thus insinuating that he expected the performance of his promise, without giving him a direct order to come. The duke of Bouillon easily comprehended the design of this letter, and answered it no otherwise, than by sending a gentleman of his retinue immediately to his majesty, to congratulate him upon the danger he had escaped. By this person he sent a letter to me, in which he carefully avoided saying any thing from which the least advantage could be taken, either because he had already learnt that his associate was seized, or that his imagination suggested to him immediately the behaviour which it was proper for him to assume. He told me, that never had any one's astonishment equalled his, when he learned that the state and the king's person had been in danger; that his fidelity, and the readiness he shewed to go to every place where his duty and the king's service called him, would, he hoped, convince his majesty, that he should never have the like reason to be apprehensive of him; and that he would expect the king's orders, and my good advice, that he might

obey the one, and follow the other. The whole letter was conceived in terms such as these: he could not, however, hinder himself from hinting something in favour of the accused, but in a manner so general as could not hurt him. After expressing his wishes, that this event might not give his majesty any disturbance, he added these words, "nor alter the "natural sweetness of his disposition."

The king, when I shewed him this letter, thought he might make use of it to draw Bouillon to court, for he durst not send him an absolute command to come, lest by a refusal he should lay him under the necessity of punishing him for his disobedience by the force of arms, which he neither chose nor could conveniently do; he therefore told me, that since Bouillon asked my advice concerning what it was proper for him to do in this conjuncture, I should reply, that it was true, the king had been informed he was not wholly unacquainted with the duke of Biron's intrigues, but that this ought to strengthen his resolution of coming to his majesty, either to justify his innocence, or, by confessing his fault, to obtain a pardon for it; and that I should assure him, that I would give him my word, or if necessary become his surety, that so far from having any thing to fear, he should be received by the king with open arms. Henry, knowing my delicacy on these occasions, prevented my scruples, by telling me, that he would engage his royal word that Bouillon should be treated in whatever manner I promised him; and, not satisfied with this verbal assurance, he gave me a writing conceived in these terms: "I promise to "M. de Rosny, that if the duke of Bouillon comes "to court upon his letters, and the promises he shall "make him, I will observe them all faithfully, or "give the duke free leave to retire wherever he "pleases; and neither in his journey to or from the "court shall he receive any disturbance; for all "which I engage my faith and royal word to the

"said

" ſaid ſieur de Roſny. Given at Paris, June 24, " 1602."

I WROTE to the duke of Bouillon, and without telling him of the engagement his majeſty entered into with me concerning him, preſſed him in the ſtrongeſt terms, and by every argument I thought could have any weight with him, to come and ſettle for ſome time at court. This letter Bouillon received almoſt at the ſame time with the verbal anſwer the king ſent him by his deputy, and took occaſion, from his majeſty's not having himſelf preſſed him to come, to tell me in anſwer, that the advice I gave him being inconſiſtent with the king's orders, he could not govern himſelf by it, whatever inclination he might have to do ſo; and that he would content himſelf with ſending to court, as his majeſty required, a perſon who ſhould give as ſatisfactory an account of his conduct, as he himſelf could do, and ought to be equally depended upon. This perſon was a gentleman named Rignac, who accordingly came to court about the ſame time that I received Bouillon's anſwer to my letter, and whoſe expences were all defrayed, as if his journey had been of great importance, becauſe, in appearance, he came by his majeſty's orders: but the duke of Bouillon, inſtead of coming himſelf, removed ſtill farther from court, and went to Caſtres.

I AM not ſurpriſed that my arguments had on this occaſion ſo little weight with him, ſince he regarded me as his enemy, and did not ſcruple to call me ſo in public; nor was the king ignorant that this was his opinion, having informed me of it himſelf in a letter dated the 28th day of December this year: nor was I more ſurprized at the manner in which the duke of Bouillon acted with his majeſty. As ſoon as he perceived (which was no very difficult matter for him to do) that the king had recourſe to diſſimulation with him, he ſuppoſed it eaſy enough to impoſe upon his majeſty and his council without riſking

riſking any danger; for this purpoſe, all that was neceſſary was, to anſwer, in * appearance, always with great ſubmiſſion, without taking any of thoſe meaſures which they durſt not formally preſcribe to him. This artifice ſucceeded ſo well, that he made uſe of it a long time. Nothing could be conceived in more modeſt or reſpectful terms, than the letter he wrote on this ſubject to Du-Maurier; and which, after his majeſty had peruſed it, was given to me, to be communicated to the chancellor and the duke d'Epernon, with whom, by the king's orders, I treated this affair methodically. The king ſtrongly intereſted himſelf in it, and had a conference with Conſtant and Saint-Aubin about the duke of Bouillon, which laſted a whole afternoon, but it produced nothing.

THE game which upon this occaſion was played by the king of Spain and the duke of Savoy was ſtill more uncommon. All the foreign powers in alliance with Henry, more eſpecially England and Scotland, whoſe ambaſſadors were ſtill at Paris, congratulated his majeſty, upon his having ſo happily cruſhed this dangerous conſpiracy. Philip and Charles-Emanuel appeared more eager than any of the others to compliment the king upon this event: unleſs fear was their motive, it is not eaſy to gueſs what could oblige them to have recourſe to ſo groſs an artifice. Henry was more ſincere with them; he ſignified to them, that he was well informed of the part they both had in the plot; all the blame of which they threw upon the count of Fuentes, as boldly as if it had been poſſible to have perſuaded him that this Spaniard would have dared, without their permiſſion, to act in concert with Biron and the other conſpirators.

* The duke de Bouillon's letters to the king we find in the 3d tom. of Villeroi's Memoire d'Eſtat, p. 158, & ſeq. See likewiſe the reaſons which the hiſtorians of his life adduced, to clear him of the accuſation of having been concerned in marechal de Biron's plot, his refuſing to come and wait upon the king, and his flight to Caſtres. Liv. v. p. 222, & ſeq.

THE king, ſome days after the execution of marechal Biron, coming to the arſenal, I had a converſation with that prince that well deſerves to be related: "You ſee," ſaid he to me, after making ſome reflections, as uſual, upon the ingratitude of meſſieurs de Biron, d'Auvergne, de Bouillon, and three more of the moſt conſiderable noblemen of the court, whom he had pardoned, and whoſe names he mentioned, "you ſee that thoſe on whom I have beſtowed the greateſt favours, are the ſame perſons by whoſe ambition and caprice I have ſuffered the moſt." He then obſerved to me, that theſe ſix men had, at different times, received larger ſums from him, than the five kings his predeceſſors, except Henry III. who had been accuſed of ſuch great prodigality, had given to their favourites. Henry added, that to ſilence thoſe who always unreaſonably enumerated the ſervices of theſe ſix gentlemen, he would have me draw up a memorial of all the rewards they had received from him ſince they had entered into his ſervice; in which he did not pretend to include any thing but thoſe preſents which his liberality only had induced him to make them, and not ſuch poſſeſſions as they had acquired by his aſſiſtance, and enjoyed through his protection; ſuch, for example, was the principality of Sedan, for which Bouillon was doubly obliged to him, having firſt procured, and then ſecured him the poſſeſſion of it, as has been ſeen, on an occaſion ſufficiently perplexing.

THE king, whoſe ſole view in entering upon this ſubject was to make a particular application to me, told me, that by this diſcourſe, which might have ſome relation to the preſent ſtate of my fortune, he had no intention to give me a leſſon, being too well perſuaded of my fidelity to think there was any occaſion for it; but that having ſeriouſly reflected upon the manner in which it was neceſſary he ſhould behave to me, that he might not expoſe himſelf to the mortification of ſeeing the confidence he had in me leſſened,

ceſſened, he thought prudence required that he ſhould take two precautions, with reſpect to me, in the rewards my ſervices and family deſerved from him: 'One of theſe precautions, ſaid the king, has a reference to the world, the other to myſelf: firſt, 'that theſe rewards ſhould neither ſucceed each 'other ſo rapidly, nor in themſelves be ſo exceſſive, 'as to render you the object of public hatred, always ready to break out againſt firſt miniſters: and 'the ſecond, that theſe eſtates and theſe honours 'ſhould be of ſuch a nature, as, if it ſhould happen that through religion, or any other motive, 'you ſhould be capable of violating your duty, they 'may not put you into a condition of giving 'any umbrage to your benefactor himſelf, or after his death, of diſturbing the tranquility of his 'ſucceſſor, or of putting the ſtate in danger: in 'one word," ſaid this prince, after giving me to underſtand, that as he ſpoke without any diſguiſe, he would permit me to tell him my ſentiments freely likewiſe, "I would take from myſelf the leaſt occaſion of ſuſpicion againſt you, that my friendſhip for you may continue unalterable. I daily experience ſo many inſtances of ingratitude, which I never expected, that, contrary to my inclinations, I am obliged to be diſtruſtful. Do not imagine, therefore, that I will put you in poſſeſſion of great cities and ſtrong fortreſſes, which, in the high-credit you are in, and the great abilities you are maſter of, might make you independent of me, and enable you, whenever you pleaſed, to throw the kingdom into confuſion. I cannot do more for you than ought to be done for a ſervant, however faithful he may be, by a prince who has his honour, his reputation, and the intereſt of his people at heart"

HENRY, without giving me time to reply, added, that till proper opportunities offered for completing my fortune, he, from this moment, would join to

my

my salaries and pensions, which were but sufficient to answer the expences of my table and house, an extraordinary gratuity of sixty thousand livres a year that by uniting this sum to my own estate I might purchase more lands, build upon them, furnish and embellish my new houses, and more advantageously settle my children; telling me graciously, that he still reserved to himself to give me other proofs of his friendship and liberality: "And this, pursued he, I shall do with the more willingness, as I am assured you will not squander these sums foolishly on entertainments, dogs, horses, birds, and mistresses."

DURING this long discourse of Henry's, my mind was agitated with various thoughts, which made me listen to him in silence; the reflections it occasioned left me still more moved with his freedom, and the confidence he reposed in me, than discontented with a caution which many others in my situation would have thought excessive. The king having commanded me to be very sincere in my reply, I told him, that although I had at this moment an absolute certainty in my own mind, that neither his majesty, nor his successors, nor the state, should ever have any cause for those apprehensions of me which his wisdom had suggested, yet I myself did not think he carried it too far; it being, in my opinion, one of the chief maxims of government, that a prince ought never to deliver himself up blindly to one person, whatever services he may have received from him, since it is next to impossible that any one should be able to answer for the wisdom and justness of his counsels for the future; therefore, instead of thinking myself injured, I found cause, in all his majesty had said, to admire his prudence, and to acknowledge his goodness, since whatever bounds he should prescribe to his favours, they would always equally exceed my expectations and my services.

As I could not doubt but that the malignant in-

insinuations of the courtiers, who were jealous of my favour with his majesty, had some share in those fears he expressed of me, I seized this opportunity to explain myself on an article, which from this moment I foresaw I should be under a necessity of returning to more than once. I begged his majesty would permit me to represent to him, that he ought not to give faith to the poisonous reports of informers, without having first had good proofs of my crime, and given me an opportunity of defending myself. I assured him, that he would find me sincere enough to confess my faults, which alone deserved that he should treat me in this manner; and that he should be convinced that what my enemies imputed to criminal views, could but at most amount to a failing, which I would not scruple to confess that instant, and for which I had some occasion for his indulgence; and this was, that, through impatience of any obstacle or delay in any resolution that I judged necessary to be taken, some words of complaint or anger might escape me against the too easy disposition of his majesty, of which my enemies would not fail to take advantage, although the purity of my intentions might be easily perceived in the words themselves which served for a foundation for the calumny.

What I then said to the king, I now repeat to my readers, and not through an affectation of modesty, which may hold the place of justification; I am conscious I have no occasion for it, but because that, however irreproachable my conduct may have been, I have nevertheless, been more than once obliged to clear myself to the prince whom I served: if this confession does not hinder them from denying me that justice I have merited, it will not make them judge less favourably of Henry if they attend to the conjunctures and maxims of the times in which we both lived: and at all times, there is nothing against which it is so difficult to defend one's self, as the secret machinations of envious courtiers: what effect might

might they not be expected to produce in the mind of a prince who could collect a thousand examples of treachery, disloyalty, and disobedience to himself and hardly one of real attachment? To judge clearly of the sentiments which Henry entertained for me we must not consider him in those moments which the remembrance of so many instances of ingratitude awakened by the most artful impostures, opened his heart in spite of him to distrust and suspicion; but when recovered from those impressions which the plots they endeavoured to comprehend me in had made on his mind, he gave me the sincerest proofs of his tenderness and esteem. The world therefore may judge as it pleases of those little disgraces which I have been obliged to sustain during the course of what will be called my glory and prosperity, and which probably any other might have suppressed for the honour of having it said, that he directed as he pleased the inclinations of his master; on this subject I shall use neither disguise nor concealment for truth is my guide, and instruction is my end.

The duke of Luxembourgh having had a cause brought before the parliament this year, the advocates that pleaded for him had the assurance to exact fifteen hundred crowns for their fees. The duke complained of this extortion to the king, who ordered the parliament to issue out an arret, by which the lawyers fees were reduced and settled, and they obliged to give receipts for all the money they received, and a general receipt for what papers were put into their hands, that they might be constrained to deliver up these, which they generally kept till their demands were satisfied †. The necessity of putting a curb to the avarice of these people had always appeared so strong, that the States had already given the same orders, but to no purpose. The parliament granted the arret that was demanded of them.

† Ordonnance de Blois, art. 162.

but

out the lawyers, instead of submitting to it, went, three or four hundred of them, to return into the public register the ensigns of their office, which produced a total cessation of law proceedings. There was almost a general murmur throughout Paris, particularly among pragmatical coxcombs and balauds *, a set of wretches with which the town is crouded, who, taking upon them to be wiser than the king, the peers, and the states of the kingdom, decided against them in favour of the advocates †, and found some abettors, even at court, who, with so much power and art exaggerated an evil, petty in itself and easily remedied, that the king was stunned with their clamours, and began to be in pain about the consequence.

WHILE this affair was yet in agitation, his majesty being one day in his closet conversing with some of the courtiers, and relating the continual solicitations that were made him in favour of the advocates, "Faith, Sire, I am not surprised at it," said Sigogne, raising his voice and assuming the air of one in a violent passion; "these men make it plain-"ly appear that they know not how to employ "their time, since they disturb themselves so much "about a trifle: to hear their exclamations, one "would think the state, without these bawlers, "would be ruined; as if the kingdom under Charle-"magne, and so many other great kings, during "whose reigns neither advocates nor attorneys were "heard of, was not in as flourishing a condition as "it is at present, when we are devoured by these "vermin." Sigogne afterwards, to prove that the

* Such as are stiled cockneys at London.

† Matthieu, in relating this incident, tom. II. liv. iii. p. 478. seems in like manner, to take the part of the advocates, and yet, for all this, every good man must be of the duke of Sully's opinion. In the sequel of these Memoirs, he proposes the means of considerably diminishing the number of processes; and 'tis for this that endeavours ought, indeed, to be chiefly used for business, to remedy the abuses of which he complains.

establishment

eſtabliſhment of advocates in France was not very ancient, produced the regiſter of the chancery, o which the firſt paper is intitled, " A permiſſion t " plead cauſes by an advocate;" and perceiving tha he was liſtened to with pleaſure, he added, tha this ſcience was eſtabliſhed to the ruin of the no bility and the people, and the deſtruction of trad and agriculture. " There is not, ſaid he, any artiſt " or even any ſimple labourer, that is not o " more uſe to the community, than this ſwarm o " men, who enrich themſelves by our follies, an " the artifices they have invented to ſtifle truth " throw down all right, and darken reaſon. If w " are ſo blind," continued he with a vivacity trul diverting, " that we will not, and ſo unhappy tha " we cannot do without them, nothing remains t " be done but to command them to reſume the ex " ercife of their employment within eight days a " fartheſt, upon the conditions preſcribed by th " court, on pain of being obliged to return to th " ſhop or the plough which they have quitted, or el " to ſerve the ſtate in Flanders with a muſquet upo " their ſhoulders. I'll anſwer for it, if this metho " be taken with them, we ſhall ſoon ſee them ru " with eagerneſs to reſume theſe magnificent en " ſigns, like vermin towards a heap of wheat."

THERE was not one in the company who coul not forbear ſmiling at this lively ſally of Sigogne's and the king was among the firſt, and confeſſed th his arguments were very convincing; but whethe it was that he ſuffered himſelf to be overcome by th ſolicitations * that were made him, or alarmed b

* The medium made uſe of by the king's people, who underha favoured the advocates in this affair, was, that the king ſhould ſe new letters to the parliament, whereby the advocates were ordered reſume and continue their functions, on condition, however, of obe ing the arrets of parliament, and the ordinances of the ſtates. But, theſe letters did at the ſame time allow them to make ſuch remo ſtrances as they ſhould think reaſonable, with regard to the exerc of their ſeveral employments, and as they were particularly aſſured th they might act as before, they had no difficulty to ſubmit theret De Thou, liv. cxxviii. Sept. an. 1602.

the fears of the consequences that might attend his joining this new disorder to those troubles by which the kingdom was then agitated, or that, as he afterwards declared, he had reserved to himself the making one day such a general regulation in this affair, that not only the advocates, but the attorneys and the whole body of the law should be comprehended in it, he consented that the arret should, for this time, continue without effect: and thus was this ludicrous business terminated; for reflections upon which, I refer the reader to Sigogne's own words: so the world was left to think that it was I who made him speak them †.

This naturally leads me to take notice of the great law-suit commenced this year by the third estate of Dauphiné against the clergy and nobility, upon the manner in which the taxes were settled and assized in this province: myself, together with thirteen other commissioners, chosen amongst persons of the highest distinction in the kingdom, were named to take cognizance of it, but it was six years before it could be decided; the animosity between the parties concerned was so great, that there was a

† Le Journal d'Henry IV. relates a little piece of history which I shall set down here. Henry one time hunting on the side of Grosbois, dropt his company, as he frequently did, and came by himself to Creteil, which is a league on the other side of the bridge of Charenton, and that at noon-day, and as hungry as a hunter. Going into an inn, he inquired of the landlady if she had any thing for him to eat? To which she answered no, and that he was come too late, taking him only for a private gentleman. Henry then asked her, For whom is this roast-meat I see at the fire? For some gentlemen, replies she, that are above, and whom I take to be solicitors. The king sent, in a civil manner, to ask them to let him have a piece of their roast-meat, or to give him leave to sit at one end of their table, upon paying for it; both which they refused him. Upon this, Henry sent privately for Vitry, and eight or ten more of his attendants, whom he ordered to seize these solicitors, and carry them away to Grosbois to have them well whipped, to teach them more complaisance to gentlemen another time. "This the said sieur Vitry saw "punctually and speedily performed, says the author, notwithstanding all the arguments, entreaties, and remonstrances of the "lawyers."

neceſſity for ſending a ſecond time to take information upon the ſpot. I took a more ſpeedy method to bring a man, named Jouſſeaume, to juſtice; he had been a receiver-general in the revenue, and, becoming a bankrupt, had carried off a great deal of the royal money. I cauſed him to be ſeized at Milan, whither he had retired, and he was hanged on a gibbet. All crimes that draw along with them the ruin of a multitude of families, cannot be too ſeverely puniſhed. The king again ſhewed himſelf ſolicitous for the intereſt of his finances, in the affair of the receivers and treaſurers-general of Burgundy; ſome draughts had been made on them for the charges of garriſons and works of fortifications, which they had not paid, either through negligence, or with a bad deſign. I adviſed his majeſty to ſend thither a commiſſary on whoſe probity he could depend; he did ſo, and he began by ſuſpending thoſe men from their employments, and himſelf performed the duties of treaſurer. The money that was expended upon this occaſion was raiſed out of the ſalaries of theſe receivers and treaſurers, "That I, ſaid Henry, "may not pay the penalty for the fault they have "committed againſt my ſervice and their duty."

To prevent the exportation of gold and ſilver coin I found a method leſs tedious and ſevere than puniſhments and confiſcations, which was only to raiſe their value ‡, there being no reaſon why they ſhould

‡ The crown called ecud'or au ſoleil, which was valued at ſixty ſols tournois, was raiſed to ſixty-five; that called écu piſtole of fifty-eight ſols, to ſixty-two, and ſo of the other gold ſpecies; the ſilver franc of twenty ſols was raiſed one ſol and four deniers, and the reſt in proportion. It was in the month of September that this double ordonnance paſſed, about the raiſing the value of money, and the re-eſtabliſhing of reckoning by livres; for the reckoning by crowns had only taken place about twenty-five years before, that is, ſince the ordonnance of 1577, which had abrogated the reckoning by livres. Matthieu very highly approves of both theſe regulations of the duke of Sully's, tom. II. liv. iii. p. 540. Le Blanc, on the contrary, ſays, p. 351. 372, et ſeq. that, whatever cogent reaſons they might have had for abrogating this famous ordonnance of 1577, it was very ill done, either with regard to the money itſelf, becauſe the gold and ſilver

be carried out of the kingdom, but that they would pass for more in the neighbouring countries than at home. At the same time, I settled, over all the

ver species were afterwards raised as much in seven years alone, as they had been during the space of seventy-five years before; or with regard to commerce, because that goods and merchandise were proportionably enhanced in their prices. The opinion of this last writer seems, to me, to be grounded upon strong reasons. The reckoning by crowns had been in favour of those who had their revenues in silver, those who improved their money in the public funds and otherwise, and those who sold goods upon credit payable at a certain time: the ordonnance of 1577 secured the effects of a considerable number of the natives; and besides, if there had been any confusion found in the coin, this neither was, nor could be, the cause of it, but only the miserable condition into which the civil wars had reduced France. The duke of Sully projected these two regulations here spoken of, to prevent these disorders, which were, according to him, the too great plenty of foreign species that, in commerce, occupied the place of our own; secondly, the enhancement of the price of merchants goods; and lastly, the exportation of the gold and silver coin to our neighbours. It was equally easy to have made him sensible, that his complaints, in all these respects, signified nothing, any more than the remedy which he applied to them. We have already shewn, a little higher, in what sense it is that this quantity of foreign coin, which abounds in our commerce, is an advantage; and if it could be called an evil, the augmentation of the nominal value of coin, to wit, in reckonings, to which he has recourse, would be more proper to heighten than lessen it.

As to the raising of the price of goods, the same augmentation could not but make way for it still more; and the reason for obviating it, which he draws from the computation by livres, will appear, to every one, very insufficient, and even frivolous. Moreover, it appears to me, that the enhancing of the price of goods follows as a necessary consequence and effect of the multiplication of gold and silver in Europe, since the discovery of America. In order to prevent it, we must have prohibited all commerce, not only with Spain, whose mines furnish us now with these metals, but also with all our own neighbours, among whom they circulate as well as among us. A state that should be conducted by this principle, would, among the other states of Europe, make the same figure, as the republic of Lacedemon did with respect to the rest of Greece. The only thing to be attended to, and which is of very great consequence, is, that all the merchandise and goods, and generally whatever constitutes a part of commerce, should rise at the same time and in the same proportion in value. If the production of manufactures be enhanced without raising the price of corn, for example, then agriculture is neglected. If the wages of journeymen be not proportioned to the one and the other, those people can no longer live and pay the taxes. As to the exporting of coin out of the kingdom, which seems to have been the chief

kingdom, the way of reckoning by livres, instead of crowns, as had been till then the practice: by some this may be thought an useless refinement, since all

view of the duke of Sully, it is true, that the augmentation of its current value in reckoning might, in some measure, prevent it, in annihilating or diminishing the profit of the dealers in bullion; and, apparently, this was the only reason that determined him. The narrow views of his age, with regard to the finances, and still more as to commerce, did not allow him to see that he destroyed a slight corruption by one a great deal more considerable, nor suffer him to go up to the source of the evil: he would have perceived that the advantage of commerce, and consequently the greatest quantity of gold and silver, will remain in that nation which shall have made all others to depend most upon them for riches, either natural or acquired; and that as long as the ballance of trade shall be in favour of some one neighbouring nation, this prohibition of exporting gold and silver, is neither reasonable, nor practicable. At present, when we begin to see a little more clearly into these matters, there is no one but agrees, that all these regulations, and this whole train of reasoning, did not reach the end proposed. Though the exigency of circumstances, which is almost endless, does not permit either the providing against, or the subjecting every thing to a single rule, we may, however, aver, that on the article of money and commerce, there are two general and very simple maxims which may be looked upon as invariable; and these are, to avoid, with the greatest care imaginable, meddling with the coin, and endeavour, continually, to render the French as laborious, industrious, and frugal as possible. The frequent variations in the coin give mortal wounds both to domestic and foreign trade, by the extinction of credit, the shutting up of private purses, the embarrassment and disadvantage of exchange, and the ruin of estates: all this is palpable and obvious. To this we may add, that the king, who appears to be the only one who gains by such proceedings, to put the case impartially, always loses considerably more thereby than he gains; besides, that the insolvency of his subjects is an evil which he always shares with them, and even feels much longer than they do; all his expences increase with the coin, so as not to be diminished even when that does.

The other principle has still less need of proof. It seems, that nature has reserved to France, the sovereignty of trade, from the advantage of her situation, and the goodness of her soil, which obliges a great part of her neighbours to have recourse to her for all those things that supply the first and essential necessaries of life: she has no more to do than to share, at least equally with them, in the commerce of all those things that serve but for mere conveniency, or which luxury has introduced into Europe. If the consumption of the latter should exceed the produce of the former, we shall complain unjustly of our condition; for to pretend to hinder the exportation of our materials of gold and silver to foreigners, when it is we that are indebted to these foreigners, is endeavouring to make the effect cease, without removing the cause; but to let a Frenchman to commerce that is carried

the ways of reckoning must come to the same thing at last: I am, however, of opinion, experience having shewn me, that the custom of talking always of

ried on by sea, to manufactures and arts, to hinder him as much as possible from expending too much on things that come from abroad, and which are but superfluities, and, on the other hand, to increase his proper riches, by encouraging the cultivation of his lands; this is what we may truly call promoting the interest of trade. Besides Le Blanc and Matthieu, consult on the subject of this note De Thou, liv. cxxix. Le Grain, liv. viii. Perefixe, and other writers of that time, in order to find out the history of these regulations of the finances and commerce; for in reality the reasonings of these writers on this whole matter are but little satisfactory: we might well say of them what the duke of Sully said to the parliament of Paris, "They "are masters of arts which none of them know any thing of." Mem. pour l'hist. de France.

As M. de Sully treats no more of money, I will supply that part from the same Memoirs, tom. II. p. 275, & seq. though this writer seems not even to understand the state of the question, and speaks not very favourably of the king and his ministers. "At that time," says he, speaking of all the deliberations which were entered into upon this subject in 1609, "there was brought upon the carpet, and proposed "to the council, a new edict for the coin, which they wanted to di-"minish and alter, that is, to raise its value, and by the same means "to ruin the people. Every one murmured at this proposal: the "king alone finding his account in it, laughed at it, and at all the "world, even at his own ministers, and their remonstrances, as he did. "at the first president of the mint (William Le-Clerc) who being "disconcerted in his speech, having been twice interrupted by his "majesty's breaking into a fit of laughter, which made him stop short "in the middle thereof; and upon his majesty's observing it, he says "to him, Go on, Mr. president, for I am not laughing at you, but "at my cousin, the count of Soissons, who is near me, and tells me, "that he smells a shoulder of mutton. This second stroke struck him "quite dumb. Upon which, the king falling into a fit of laughter, "went away and left him. A native of Perigord, who was one of "the principal persons that had communicated this project of the "edict of the king, pressed much for its being put in execution. The "king, who very well knew the iniquity of the edict, seeing himself "continually teased by this rude contractor, at length asked him "what countryman he was; to which he answered, I am a native of "Perigord. *Ventresaintgris*, replies the king, I always thought so; "for in that country they are all false coiners.—On Saturday, "the 5th of September, the court being met on the edit de monies, "rejected it entirely; *Nec debemus, nec possumus*, we neither ought nor "can, concluded they with one voice. The gentlemen belonging to "the mint were sent for; among whom one of the reformed religion, "called Bizeul, spoke his sentiments very freely, for which he was "highly commended; and M. le Premier president said, *Non in "parabolis iste locutus est nobis*. It must be observed, that as soon as

crowns, for want of a denomination of a money more convenient for petty traffic, had imperceptibly raiſed all that was bought or ſold to more than its real value.

THE intereſt of commerce was ſtill more concerned in the news the king received from ſeveral parts of the kingdom, that thoſe who had been employed to ſeek for mines, had diſcovered a great number of † gold and ſilver ones. This report was ſpread at court with ſo many appearances of probability, that every one repreſenting to himſelf the direction of this new labour as a ſource of immenſe riches, there was not one who did not uſe his utmoſt endeavours to procure the grant of it. Monſieur Le Grand obtained the office of ſuperintendant, and Béringhen that of comptroller general. This gave occaſion for La Regnardiere, a buffoon whoſe

" the people belonging to the coinage had entered the chamber, the " firſt preſident ſaid to them, Sit down and be covered, and you ſhall " ſpeak preſently. On Tueſday the 8th, in the evening, M. de " Sully went to ſee the firſt preſident, in order to prevail on him to " perſuade the court to paſs the edicts; but in this he found him in- " flexible: and as the preſident repreſented to him the injuſtice of it, " M. de Sully anſwered, The king ought not to look upon that as " unjuſt which ſuits his affairs.---On Tueſday the 15th of September, " the king ſent his letters patent to the court, to prolong the parlia- " ment for eight days, during which time they were ordered to ſet " about the regiſtering of the edicts, two of which were in a manner " revoked; and as to the others, it was hoped they would die of " themſelves."

† Le Septennaire mentions the places where theſe mines of all ſorts were diſcovered: " In the Pyrennees mines of talc and copper, " together with ſome of gold and ſilver; in the mountains of Foix, " mines of jet and precious ſtones, and even carbuncles, though but " few; in the lands of Gevaudan, and in the Cevennes, mines of " lead and tin; in thoſe of Carcaſſonne, mines of ſilver; in thoſe of " Auvergne, mines of iron; in the Lyonnois near the village Saint- " Martin, of gold and ſilver; in Normandy, ſilver and very good tin; " at Annonay in the Vivarais, mines of lead; in La Brie and Picardy, " mines of marcaſite of gold and ſilver. Some of theſe mines, but " eſpecially thoſe of gold and ſilver, are very difficult and troubleſome " to work, and at the ſame time of ſo little profit, that M. De Thou " had reaſon for diſſuading them from meddling with them ever ſince " that time." liv. cxxix.

jeſts

jests were equally satirical and agreeable, to say, "that they could not have made a fitter choice "of a man for a direction of the mines, than one "who was himself a composition of mines †" The improvement and working of silk, of which I shall have more occasion to speak in the following year, commenced in this, and an edict was published for the planting of mulberry trees.

AMONG all these different edicts, none made so much noise as that against duels‡. His majesty went so far as to make death the punishment of those who disobeyed; in which, I confess, he acted contrary to my advice. I have too plainly declared my thoughts of this pernicious and savage abuse, to fear the accusation of having endeavoured to tolerate it; but I foresaw, that an excess of severity in the means would be the principal obstacle of the execution. When it becomes necessary to declare the will of the sovereign to the subject, it is of the utmost importance to examine carefully, whether the thing to be forbidden is of such a nature that the fear of death may prevent disobedience; for otherwise those extremities are, in my opinion, less efficacious than degradation or disgrace, or even than a pretty high fine or forfeiture. If the practice of duelling be seriously attended to, it will be found to be of this nature; for it is commonly persons of quality, and even of the greatest distinction, who are guilty of it; for whom solicitations are so much the more ardent and successful, as the punishment with which

† The jest lies in the word *mines*, which in French signifies grimace and affectation.

‡ This edict, in which duelling is declared to be high treason or *lexe majeste*, was passed at Blois in the month of June, and is a very severe one: this is the edict which first gave the constables and marechals of France a power of prohibiting violent methods, and appointing the reparation of the injuries received. This the parliament restricted, in the registring, to those rencounters alone that concerned the point of honour, and excepted all other crimes as debts, assaults, &c. M. de Sully, in the course of these Memoirs, handles this affair of duelling at greater length.

they are threatened is great and infamous: it is not therefore to be doubted, that many pardons will be granted, the example, and the hope of which, are sufficient to encourage others to infringe the law. It often happens, that those punishments are most regarded, for which a pardon dare not, nor cannot be implored.

Besides those embassies I have already mentioned at the beginning of this year, the king received a solemn deputation from the thirteen Swiss Cantons: forty-two deputies from that nation came to Paris to renew the alliance *, which had been the occasion of marechal Biron's journey to those Cantons. I was appointed, together with Sillery, De Vic, and Caumartin, to treat with them; but, not being able, on account of my other employments, to attend this business constantly, I satisfied myself with getting exact informations from Sillery of all that passed at their meetings. The only difficulty I started, was concerning the three millions that were granted them, besides the forty thousand crowns to which their usual pension was raised: I could have wished that they had deducted certain sums paid on their account, during the campaign in Savoy, and on some other occasions: as for the rest, these gentlemen thought good chear, and deep drinking with them, the most essential parts of their reception. The king presented them with gold chains and medals, and sent back the pope's chamberlain, who came to compliment him in the name of his holiness, loaded with presents: he gave his consent to the alliance which the republic of Venice made with the Grisons against Spain.

The great armaments and other warlike preparations which that crown was making for the following year kept the crown of France in continual atten-

* See all the ceremonies of entries, audiences, and performances of oaths, which were observed on this occasion, in le Septennaire, ann. 1602. Matthieu, tom. II. liv. iii. p. 471, &c.

tion

tion to their motions, and were the cauſe that Henry, who held it for an inconteſtable truth, that it was by the military power alone a ſtate could be rendered flouriſhing, not only rejected the propoſal I made him to diſband part of his troops, particularly to leſſen the number of his guards by twelve or fifteen hundred men, but alſo that he took a reſolution to make a new levy of ſix thouſand Swiſs; and it was with great difficulty that I prevailed upon him to defer this levy till the month of September. He was more ſolicitous than ever about the payment of his army, and I was obliged to the conſtable for having ſolicited with great earneſtneſs the payment of my company of gendarmes. And at laſt he determined to take another journey to Calais, which was the moſt conſiderable of all his majeſty made this year, except that into the provinces.

HENRY took his route through Verneuil † towards the latter end of the month of Auguſt, leaving his queen in the ſame condition ſhe was the preceding year, that is, far advanced in her pregnancy, for ſhe lay in of Madame her eldeſt daughter, in November ‡. He recommended to me with great earneſtneſs to be aſſiduous about her, and endeavour to make her approve of his journey; as likewiſe to procure her every kind of diverſion that might alleviate her concern during the firſt days of his abſence. He never wrote to me without making inquiry about the ſtate of her health, and the manner in which ſhe paſſed her time: and it may be truly ſaid, that he never omitted giving her every inſtance of reſpect and tenderneſs that was able to make her forget the uneaſineſs ſhe received from his amours. It was about this time that he legitimated the ſon he had by

† Verneuil, near Senlis, a caſtle which he had given to his miſtreſs, mademoiſelle d'Entragues, and from which ſhe took the title of marchioneſs of Verneuil.

‡ Elizabeth, daughter of France, was born on the 22d of November, 1602, and married to Philip IV. of Spain in 1615.

the marchioneſs de Verneuil §, which was among the number of thoſe things that gave the greateſt offence to the queen. Henry was detained a little time at Monceaux by a fever, occaſioned by a cold he got in walking late in the evening to ſee his maſons work; the remedy he made uſe of was, to go to the chace next day. As ſoon as I had acquainted him at Boulogne, that every thing relating to the queen was in ſuch a ſituation as he wiſhed, he wrote to me to come to him in this city, with the preſident Jeannin, whom he expected to have occaſion for.

It was from this place that his majeſty was a witneſs of part of the event and exploits of the campaign between the Spaniards and the Flemiſh, without having any inclination to diſarm, whatever aſſurance might be given him by the king of Spain, till he had ſeen what turn affairs would take in the Low Countries; where, however, they ſtill continued to be on the ſame footing as before. The ſiege of Oſtend was not carried on with ſo much vigour by the beſiegers, as it was ſuſtained by the beſieged. Prince Maurice of Naſſau, after continuing ſome time at Berg, uncertain of what he ſhould next undertake, went on the 19th of September to inveſt Grave, and entrenched himſelf, not doubting but he ſhould receive ſome oppoſition in this enterprize. Accordingly the admiral of Arragon, in the abſence of the arch-duke Albert, who was detained by ſickneſs at Bruſſels, endeavoured, by means of a bridge which he threw over the river, to beat up one of the quarters of the beſiegers, and to ſuccour the place; but he did not ſucceed; and he had even the mortification to find, that many of his Spaniſh companies mutinied, and, after ſeparating from the main body of his army, poſſeſſed themſelves of Hoeſtrate and Dele. He took ſuch wrong methods

§ Henry de Bourbon, duke de Verneuil: he was at firſt biſhop of Metz, and afterwards married Charlotte Seguier.

to engage them to return, that they came to a reſolution to apply to the prince of Orange, who gave them the city of Grave for a retreat, which he had taken, and which theſe Spaniards reſtored to him, when the ravages and violences they commited upon the territories of the arch-duke obliged him to treat with them, and to except of very ſtrange conditions from them †.

THE council of Spain, through a deſire of carrying on the war, reſolved to make new and more vigorous efforts. A ſquadron of twelve large gallies and pinnaces, fitted out at Sicily with great care, manned with a ſufficient number of ſoldiers, and plentifully ſupplied with all neceſſary proviſions, ſailed for this purpoſe out of the Spaniſh ports, to cruiſe in the channel: the command of this ſquadron was given to Frederic Spinola, couſin to the marquis of that name, who conducted the ſiege of Oſtend; he flattered himſelf that he ſhould become maſter of the ſea, and complete the ruin of the Flemiſh. But this proved a vain hope; of twelve veſſels, two of them periſhed ere he had quitted the coaſts of Spain; the ten others, meeting with a Dutch ſquadron, were almoſt all either taken or ſunk; the laſt that eſcaped, and in which Spinola himſelf was, happened to run a-ground within view of Calais, but ſo diſabled by the cannon, and in ſuch a ſhattered condition, that the ſlaves who rowed it having revolted and fled, the general found himſelf obliged to land alone, and with great labour, at Calais, from whence he went to Bruſſels, to complain to the arch-duke of the ſea and the winds.

SPAIN made herſelf amends for theſe misfortunes by the acquiſition of the marquiſate of Final, which was taken by the count of Fuentes. There was not the leaſt ſhadow of a pretence for this uſurpation; this little ſtate, which is on the coaſt of Ge-

† See in the hiſtorians the particulars of all theſe expeditions, which are here only briefly related.

neva, being inconteſtably a fief of the empire; nevertheleſs, when the emperor, to preſerve, in appearance at leaſt, the right of the empire, offered to ſend commiſſioners to diſcuſs this affair upon the ſpot, his offer was rejected with contempt by the king of Spain *. He uſed the ſame violence with regard to Piombino, a fief likewiſe of the empire, which offorded him a convenient port; and had likewiſe the ſame views upon Embden, when he undertook to ſupport againſt the inhabitants † the lord of this city, although he was avowedly a proteſtant; but in this he did not ſucceed; the citizens of Embden maintained their liberty againſt both the one and the other, and joined themſelves to the ſtates.

THE duke of Savoy ſucceeded no better in the attempt he ordered d'Albigny ‡ to make upon the city of Geneva. This expedition ended unfortunately for the aſſailants, although they had opened themſelves a paſſage into the city, by applying ſoldiers to the walls, and above two hundred of them had already entered, after cutting the centinel's throat, whom they had forced to tell them the watch-word, which ſerved them to get clear of the patrole till they had found their way through the firſt guard; and now they thought themſelves ſecure of the city: but the citizens, deriving new ſtrength and courage from the extremity they beheld themſelves in, charged them with ſo much fury, that they drove them back, and forced them to abandon their city. Some of theſe Savoyards threw themſelves off the walls, to eſcape the rage of the enemies; many others were taken, and hanged without mercy. Spain entered very deep into that black deſign, which was follow-

* The marquis of Final, by his importunities, obtained a penſion during his life.

† He was called count d'Oſt Friſe. See the origin of theſe troubles in Chron. Sept. an. 1598, and their concluſion, an. 1602.

‡ Charles de Simiane d'Albigny. De Thou, liv. 129. Septen. an 1602. Matthieu, ibid. 544.

ed-

ed by a peace between the duke of Savoy and the republic of Geneva †.

THE revolt of Battori from the emperor continued the war in Hungary: the duke of Nevers ‡ went thither, in expectation of succeeding

† The treaty was concluded the following year at Ramilly, through the mediation of the Swiss Cantons. Siri, ibid. p. 200.

‡ Charles de Gonzague, duke of Mantua, de Nevers, de Cleves, and de Rhetel, who died in 1637. See how la Chronol. Septen. relates an action, of which M. de Sully speaks with a kind of contempt. "The duke of Nevers thinking by his own example to recal the "courage of those who withdrew from danger, and to induce others "to come on, went directly to the breach, trampling over the dead, "the wounded, and even those that were flying; but he received "there the shot of a large arquebuse that was fired amidst a great "number of other arms, from one of the angles of the said breach, "that struck him just on the left side, penetrating into the breast, "near the heart and lungs; but it was conducted so providentially, "that, neither breaking or hurting any nobler part, it gained him as "much lasting honour, as it shewed a great miracle in his preservation." Let us likewise hear this writer concerning the death of the duke de Mercœur: "Having an inclination, says he, to return to "France, in order to prepare for some greater expedition against the "Turks, he went from Vienna to Prague, where he took his leave "of the emperor: but while he was at Noremberg he was seized "with a pestilential spotted fever. No sooner was the host brought "him, than the moment he saw it, though in a languishing and weak "state of body, yet of a vigorous and sound mind, *having more faith than "life* (the device of the duke of Mercœur being *plus fidei quam vitæ*) "he threw himself out of bed, and falling prostrate upon the ground, "adored his Saviour, uttering the most devout ejaculations." The whole of what this author adds concerning the acts, sayings, and sentiments, of the duke of Mercœur, till the moment of his death, is quite affecting, and serves sufficiently to form a high elogium of his character: "His funeral oration was pronounced in the church of Notre "Dame at Paris, by monseigneur François de Salles, coadjutor and bishop "elect of Geneve. The Turks imagined that the affairs of the "Christians did not prosper but where-ever this prince was." After the elogium of his family, the historian passes to that of his virtues: "He was one of the most temperate men in the world as to diet, so "as only to eat when obliged through necessity, and he drank almost "nothing but water: he was no less abstemious in other temporal enjoyments; humble in the possession of all those high honours and "great favours heaven had heaped upon him, and never abusing any "of them; for he was equally accessible to rich and poor; moderate "in his recreations; he had a great contempt for idle assemblies: "so that what time remained for amusement he employed in "reading useful books. He had an exact skill in practical mathematics; he also was eloquent, and would gracefully deliver his "elegant

ing to the poſt and reputation of the duke of Mercœur; but laying ſiege to Buda after Peſt had been taken by the Chriſtians, the Turks, who on their ſide had, at length, won Alba regalis, haſtened thither with ſuch numerous forces, that they forced them to raiſe the ſiege; and the duke of Nevers retreated very much wounded. An action of George Baſte, the emperial general, has been very much and very deſervedly applauded. The rebels in Battori's party having ſeized Biſtrith, Baſte retook this place by a capitulation, which during his abſence was violated by ſome German ſoldiers. As ſoon as he was appriſed of it at his return, he hanged up all thoſe ſoldiers, and out of his own money ſatisfied the inhabitants for the damage they had received. The rebels were ſo greatly affected with the generoſity of this action, that they all ſubmitted to the emperor, and demanded no other ſecurity than the general's word.

BOOK XIV.

THE city of Metz had been, for ſome time, ſhaken with thoſe inteſtine diviſions, which broke out in the beginning of this year. The duke of Epernon, who was governor of it, and of the whole

" elegant ſentiments not only in French, but likewiſe in the Ger-
" man, Italian, and Spaniſh tongues, in which he was more than
" moderately ſkilled; and yet he never employed his elocution but
" to enforce things that were uſeful, praiſe-worthy, and virtuous."
The deſcription which this writer afterwards gives, with regard to his performing the duties of religion and thoſe of his ſtation, his piety, his prudence, and his other virtues, form altogether a picture which may ſerve for a model to the great of our times, if we except that an immoderate ambition and miſtaken zeal for religion made him undertake a conſpiracy againſt his ſovereign. Matthieu, ibid. 456, ſpeaks of him in the ſame manner.

country

country of Meſſin, had placed Sobole † and his brother as his lieutenants there; who made ſuch an ill uſe of their authority, that they were ſoon hated by the whole body of the citizens. This hatred was ſtrengthened by the difference of their religions; and there was ſuch a general outcry amongſt the citizens and country people, againſt the lieutenants, that d'Epernon was obliged to go himſelf to Metz, to hear the complaints of both parties, and to endeavour to conciliate them to each other. Sobole complained, that the city refuſed to furniſh the troops with victual, and the city, in their turn, threw the whole blame upon Sobole. Some diſputes had alſo riſen concerning a certain Provençal priſoner at Vitry; which, through rancour and a deſire of revenge, occaſioned ſeveral other matters leſs conſiderable; and theſe heats had already proceeded ſo far as to make a revolt be apprehended.

THE duke of Epernon was ſoon convinced that the two Soboles * had not juſtice on their ſide, at leaſt, with regard to the firſt complaint, which was indeed the chief, and by them made the occaſion of a quarrel, with no other view, than to afford them a pretence for opening the magazines of the citadel, which was never permitted but in caſe of a war or a ſiege, and this to make themſelves maſters of them. D'Epernon would have been glad to have pacified matters, without being obliged to deprive his two creatures of their poſts; for he well knew, that this was an exertion of authority, which he would have ſome difficulty to ſupport himſelf in, the two brothers being at the head of a party, ſtrong enough to oppoſe the governor as well as the citizens.

THINGS were in this ſtate, when the king received

† Raymond de Comminges, lord of Sobole, and his brother, gentlemen of Gaſcony.

* Sobole accuſed the city of Metz of holding intelligence with the count of Mansfield, in order to ſurrender itſelf to the king of Spain. This accuſation appeared to be falſe. Vie du duc d'Epernon, p. 217.

advice

advice what was doing at Metz: he ſent me notice that he would come to the arſenal to confer with me, and deſired that I would have a ſupper prepared for him, and ſix other perſons whom he ſhould bring with him. He made me follow him alone into the great ſtore-houſes of cannons and arms, and, beginning, as uſual, to diſcourſe about the ſituation of affairs within the kingdom, with reſpect to the male-contents, he told me the news he had juſt received from Metz. Henry, without any heſitation, reſolved upon taking a journey thither, upon his reflecting that if Metz, a city ſo very lately diſmembered from the empire, ſhould unfortunately happen, in the preſent conjuncture, to ſeparate itſelf from France, it would be a difficult matter to recover it. Several other political motives made this journey abſolutely neceſſary, beſides that of taking from the duke of Epernon a citadel, which he might make uſe of to very bad purpoſes, and a conſiderable extent of country, wherein, under the reign of Henry the third, he had behaved more like a ſovereign prince than a governor; and, upon a ſuppoſition that he ſhould one day carry his great deſigns into excution, there would be a neceſſity for having, in this country, ſo important by its ſituation, a governor from whom he could promiſe himſelf more aſſiſtance than he could expect from d'Epernon. It was probable at leaſt that ſome favourable opportunity would offer to join Lorrain to France, and in that caſe it imported his majeſty highly to go himſelf in perſon, and procure a perfect knowledge of this ſtate, and give the government of that province, which was upon its confines, to a man on whom he could depend. This journey likewiſe would be of uſe to him, affording him an opportunity of becoming acquainted with ſome of the princes of Germany, and of ſounding their inclinations with reſpect to the houſe of Auſtria, to know if he might expect any aſſiſtance from them in an advantageous conjuncture,

juncture, and even to attach them to himself, by reconciling them to one another, for he was not ignorant that many differences subsisted amongst them.

It was agreed between us, that his majesty should set out without loss of time, to the end that, by appearing at Metz with his whole court (for it was resolved that the queen should accompany him) at a time when the two factions not having yet proceeded so far in their insolence as to embrace a party contrary to the king, both the one and the other should think of nothing but of justifying their conduct, and submitting to his determination. The king would not even stay till the coats of his guards, for about this time they were to be all new cloathed, were ready; but leaving me at Paris to correspond with him, ordered only Villeroi among his secretaries of state to attend him, and left Paris the latter end of February, notwithstanding the rigour of the season, which made the roads very bad for the ladies to travel, and took his rout by La-Ferté-sur-Jouarre, Dorman-sur-Marne, Epernai, Châlons-sur-Marne, and Clermont: the court stopped at Verdun, and four or five days after arrived at Metz by Frezne-en-Verdunois.

Henry's arrival put an end to all disputes, and nothing was talked of but submission and obedience: not but Sobole, who was sensible this affair would be terminated by his expulsion, had ambition and resolution enough to maintain himself in the citadel in spite of his majesty, and disclosed his thoughts to his particular friends; but the most prudent amongst them represented to him, that, if he engaged in such a design, he would be irretrievably ruined; so that, submitting to the arret for his banishment, he gave up the citadel without making any conditions, and quitted Metz and the whole country of Messin. The king appointed Montigny † to be his lieutenant in

† Francis de la Grange, lord of Montigny, Sery, &c. was the chief steward of the houshold to Henry III. governor of Berry, Blois, &c. knight

this province, in the room of Sobole, and d'Arquien his brother to act as lieutenant for the governor in the city and castle of Metz. Montigny, for this new post, quitted his government of Paris, the salary of which, however, he received this year. It was thought that d'Epernon was far from being satisfied with all these changes, as may be easily imagined, the two lieutenants being under no obligation to him for their preferment; but he could have nothing to say, he himself, through necessity, being the first to require the banishment of the two Soboles, so that every thing seemed to be done with his consent.

I HAVE taken this detail from the letters his majesty honoured me with during his stay at Metz, in which he informed me succinctly of all the incidents, and dwelt still longer upon the manner in which he was received at Metz, and upon the city itself, which he said was three times larger than Orleans, and finely situated, but that the castle was not worth any thing; he likewise told me, that he wished for my presence in that country, that he might send me to visit the frontier, and that before six days, he should put every thing in such good order, as to be able to leave Metz. In effect, the king accomplished it in much less time, and was only detained there by an indisposition, that obliged him to take some medicines, after which he found himself quite well, although it was followed by a fit of the ague, which he thought had been occasioned by a cold. The duchess of Bar, sister to his majesty, came to Metz on the sixteenth of March, and the duke de Deux-Ponts, with his wife and children, arrived three days

knight of the order of the Holy Ghost, camp-master-general of the light-horse, governor of Paris, afterwards of Metz, the Pays Messin, Toul, and Verdun, at last, marechal of France, and died in 1617. His brother was Antony, lord of Arquien, commandant of the citadel of Metz, governor of Calais, Sancerre, &c. He is miscalled by some, John-James d'Arquien; and d'Arcy, by father Daniel. John-James d'Arquien was nephew of marechal de Montigny.

after-

afterwards. The remainder of the time his majesty staid in this province was employed in concluding a marriage between mademoiselle de Rohan, and the young duke de * Deux-Ponts; in composing a difference between the cardinal of Lorrain, and the prince of Brandenbourg †, concerning the bishoprick of Strasbourg, which was accomplished by dividing the revenue of this bishoprick equally between them, without having any regard to their titles and pretensions; in restoring tranquility to that city, and in being serviceable to all the princes who required his interposition in any of their affairs. The name of Henry became so revered in this country, that several sovereign princes of Germany took a resolution to come thither and pay their respects to him, to offer him their service, and demand his protection; which, however, they could only do afterwards, and by ambassadors, the necessary preparations for their equipages taking up more time than his majesty had determined to stay at Metz. There were only the cardinal of Lorrain, the duke de Deux-Ponts, the marquis of Brandenburg and Pomerania, the landgrave of Hesse, and three or four others whose dominions lay nearest to the Rhine, that came thither in person.

The Jesuits, who ever since their banishment, had been using their utmost endeavours to procure their re-establishment in France, appeared no less solicitous to make their court to the king; for this purpose, they made use of the good offices of the fathers of their order at Verdun ‡, supported by La-Varenne,

* John II. duke of Deux-Ponts, of a branch of the house of Bavaria, married Catherine the daughter of Henry duke of Rohan.

† John Manderscheidt, the catholic bishop of Strasbourg, dying in 1594, cardinal Charles of Lorrain obtained this bishopric of the pope; and the protestants, on their part, got John-George, brother of the elector of Brandenbourgh, elected; whence a war arose, which continued till this year. See the historians, Bassompierre's Memoirs, vol. I. Septennaire, &c.

‡ The fathers Ignatius Armand, provincial, Châteiller, Brossard, and La-Tour, introduced by La-Varenne, came on Wednesday in Pas-
sion

who declared himself their protector, that they might one day become his, and repay his zeal by the advancement of his children, for whom he already thirsted after the most eminent dignities in the church. D'Ossat, though not in France, laboured with equal ardour and success in their favour. The ambitious desire of being arbitrator of the affairs of Europe had often made this man undertake to treat of matters quite foreign to his commission: the obstacles he raised at Rome to the marriage of the princess Catharine, the king's sister, is one proof of it, and his solicitations for the Jesuits another; for the re-establishment of this society was regarded by him, Villeroi, Jeannin, and other creatures of the Roman court in France, to be the most essential part of that system of politics, which they endeavoured to have preferred there, to that pursued by the council.

D'Ossat, by printing his letters, which ‡ prove

sion week to throw themselves at the king's feet, and to implore his favour for their re-admission into France. Henry IV. would not suffer the provincial, who spoke for the whole order, to address him kneeling. When he had done, the king answered them, that, for his part, he was not an ill-wisher to the Jesuits: he required them to give him, in writing, what they had been saying to him, and kept them the whole day with him. They returned on Easter Monday, and the king promised to recal them, and even ordered the father provincial to come to him at Paris, and bring father Cotton with him. "I will have you with me, added he, for I think you useful to the "public, and to my kingdom." He dismissed them, after having embraced them all four. De Thou, b. cxxix. Chronol. Sept. ann. 1603. MSS. Biblioth. Royale, vol. 9129, &c. P. Matthieu, vol. II. b. iii. p. 556.

‡ To support these accusations brought against cardinal d'Ossat, the author quotes fourteen letters, taken out of the collection printed in 1627, eight of them to the king, and six to M. de Villeroi: and he principally fixes on two of the six last mentioned, of which he has given an abstract. There are some errors in these quotations, which may be placed to the printer's account; but truth compels us to acknowledge, that there are others of more moment than mere faults of the impression, which may be laid to the charge of the pretended author of the memorial from Rome; and that though the abstract of these letters be conformable to the words of the text, yet it may be said to be not more exact on that account, since one cannot help taking notice of the visible attempt to suppress those explanations and expedients which soften, and even sometimes totally destroy the bad constructions

he truth of my assertions concerning him, seems not o be solicitous about concealing his true sentiments

tructions which it has been endeavoured to put on them. I appre-end it will be necessary here to make some short observations on each f those letters, as well to stand in the place of a disquisition, more atirical than historical, which I thought it incumbent on me to sup-ress, as to do justice where it is due, and to make known the real entiments of a man, esteemed amongst us as a great negotiator, and a ery able politician.

The first of the eight letters to the king (though the author reckons nly seven of them) is dated the 19th of February, 1600. It only ontains an account given by the cardinal d'Ossat to his majesty, of ome complaints made by the pope, by reason of the king's having reated M. de la Tremouille, who was a protestant, and duke, and a eer of France, and of his intending to make him admiral afterwards, s he had been informed. D'Ossat does not, in this letter, say any hing as being his own sentiment, and even takes some pains to justify Henry IV. In the second letter of the 25th of April, it is again the ope who insists on the publication of the council of Trent, and the e-admission of the Jesuits into France, and who, at the same time, omplains of some abuses in the Gallican church to which the cardi-al makes no other answer, but that his majesty sincerely labours to ive his holiness all possible satisfaction. The third of the 22d of May, the fourth of the 17th of June, and the fifth of the 30th of the same month, turn on the affair of the dispensation for the duke and duchess of Bar: he therein acquaints the king with the difficulties that affair meets with at Rome; he adds his own opinion, which, in truth, is not in favour of his majesty's intentions, but nevertheless does not prevent his being ready to second them, by all the reasons he can think of, and his shewing himself, above all things, exceeding sensible of the shame that would redound to the house of France, if, as the duke of Bar sometimes gave out, it should be determined by the court of Lorraine to send the princess back to France. The sixth let-ter of the 26th of November, 1601, contains nothing for which this prelate can be blamed, but his discovering, perhaps with too much complaisance, to Henry IV. the design his holiness had formed, on the death of queen Elizabeth, to transfer the crown of England to the house of Parma. In the seventh of the 22d of December in the same year, d'Ossat also, possibly with too much zeal, sustains certain rights of the pope, in the matter of elections. His sentiments, which must appear to be singular in France, oblige me set forth some of the terms he employs. "If the pope, says he, have encroached on the liberties "of the church, the kings, sire, (I say this only to yourself, and even "in doing so, shew the great opinion I have of your generosity "and goodness) have made no less attempts on their kingdoms, "and even their churches: and if things should be reduced to their "original state, as is attempted to be done on your side in the pope's "case in regard to the elections, the kings would be greater sufferers "by it than the popes."

The first of these six letters, directed to M. de Villeroi, is dated the

from the public; but, if he is inexcusable for having almost always observed a conduct quite opposite to

23d of July 1621. Our author's exceptions to this letter are because d'Ossat therein maintains, with some warmth, that the protestants ought not to be suffered in the Italian cities, ceded to the king by the treaty of Savoy. The second of the 23d of September, is misdated. If the author meant to speak of that of the 3d of September, he is so much more in the wrong, because the Spaniards are handled very roughly in that letter: but he probably speaks of that of the 17th of that month, for there the pretended reformed religion, and the cities of Savoy, are again brought in question. The third of the 16th of December 1602, on the affairs of the duchess of Bar, contains this circumstance in favour of d'Ossat, that he therein declares the suspicion he had conceived, that the duke of Lorraine might have some evil intentions against her. The same thing may be said of the fourth of the 30th of December, in which his eminence seems persuaded, that Spain appears to enter so strongly with the pope, into the affair of the succession to the crown of England, for no other reason than to cover her own designs with the cloak of religion. As to the fifth of the 7th, or rather the 27th of January 1603, which is one of the two the author applies himself to censure particularly, because it points out, though but in general terms, the abuses in the government of France; he is doubly to blame for concealing that d'Ossat adds, at the same time, that the wisdom of Henry IV. had already redressed them in part; since those words contain the real meaning, and an explanation of the cardinal's sentiments, and, at the same time, a commendation which might be made to rebound from thence on M. de Rosny. The sixth of the 10th of February, is produced as being the most vehement; and, in truth, in this letter he expresses himself with more freedom, on the evils with which the kingdom is internally afflicted, on the injustice of the war carried on against Spain in Flanders, and on the advantage of uniting the two kingdoms of France and Spain in interest and politics, by the marriage of the dauphin and infanta; yet, when all these circumstances are drawn together, and placed in the most unfavourable point of light, as the author has done, he should, in justice, have remarked that d'Ossat, in this letter, candidly states every side of the question; that he says, he is convinced the Spaniards discover a desire for an alliance with us, only to gain time to do their own business, and to amuse the king with a treaty, to surprise him the better afterwards; that he inveighs, perhaps, with equal force, against the rapaciousness, ambition, arrogance, and perfidy of the council of Madrid. Certainly, it is not the proper time to shew this prelate's opinion, whilst he is thus balancing the reasons on each side; but when he recapitulates what he has been saying in this letter, which is very long, he at last speaks in his own name: and this is the manner in which he delivers his sentiments. " Upon the " whole, I apprehend that his holiness ought to be undeceived, in " the wrong notions he has formed of us; that we ought, sincerely " and faithfully, to observe the peace made and sworn with the king " of Spain and the archdukes on our side, provided they also keep it

" on

that which the gratitude he owed to his prince and benefactor ought to have ſuggeſted to him, he deſerves ſtill greater reproaches for having endeavoured both in his diſcourſe and in his writings, to give a bad impreſſion of the king and his miniſters. When removed from the center of buſineſs, all the informations he could obtain muſt be through the canal of wretches, to whom a man of ſenſe and judgment ought to be cautious of giving credit. It is not difficult to perceive that this paſſage tends partly to juſtify myſelf againſt the cenſures of d'Oſſat, this cardinal having about that time wrote a letter to Villeroi, in which he did not ſcruple to attribute mare-

" on theirs, as they have by the pope offered to do; that this peace " ſhould ſtill be ſtrengthened by all ſorts of honourable and advan- " tageous obligations; yet that we ſhould not place more confidence " in it than reaſon warrants, nor abate our vigilance and precaution; " but that we ſhould, in all other reſpects, leave the king of Spain " and the archdukes on the footing they now ſtand with other na- " tions, not from any evil deſign or intention againſt them, but for " our own preſervation; that we ſhould not furniſh an opportunity to " thoſe who have ſhewn an inclination to turn all their forces againſt " France; and that whilſt the reſt are at war with one another, we " ſhould employ the peace and quiet God has bleſſed us with, in do- " ing what is right, improving what is good in the kingdom, and ex- " tirpating what is bad."

This diſquiſition confirms me in the opinion I have given above, of the ſentiments of the cardinal d'Oſſat; for what he ſays of the Spaniards, beſides the letters already quoted, ſee p. 51, 504, 540, 692, 705, &c. on the publication of the council of Trent, 217, 256, 354, 396, 400, 433, 466, 613, 615, and many other places; on the Jeſuits, 69, 302, 303, 287, 309. 351, & ſeq. 613, & ſeq.

Had the cardinal d'Oſſat even meant what his adverſary pretends he did, it could not be at all conſiſtent with the character of ſo prudent and cautious a negotiator, as he is allowed to have been, to make an open diſcovery of ſuch blameable ſentiments: his prudence appears from his letters amongſt other occaſions, where, unqueſtionably againſt his own advice, he defends the edict of Nantz before the pope, p. 391, 393, 400, where he approves of the impriſonment of marechal de Biron, 705, and where he takes the part of queen Elizabeth, 243.

In ſhort, nothing can be a ſtronger proof that this cardinal had no perſonal diſlike to M. de Roſny, as it has been inſinuated, than his having never once mentioned his name with ill-nature. He is ſpoken of, p. 440, 377, 723: this laſt is the only place where he complains of him, though with all poſſible moderation, on account of his having ſuſpended the payment of his allowance.

chal

chal Biron's rebellion, and the diſcontent of the other French lords, to the very little ſatisfaction they received from Henry, and the oppreſſion the people groaned under through the tyranny of his counſellors: and that he might not do things by halves, this able man, who valued himſelf upon his nice diſcernment in affairs of ſtate, preſumed, by deſiring Villeroi to ſhew his letter to the king, by adviſing his majeſty to remit his confidence and his authority into other hands. Poſſibly if this proceeding of d'Oſſat's was thoroughly examined, it would be found to have more artifice than miſtake in it; for it is not likely that a man, who received ſuch exact informations from Villeroi of every thing that happened, could be ignorant that what he repreſented as a general conſpiracy of all the ſtates in the kingdom, was, in reality, only a faction compoſed of a few perſons, whoſe heads were turned by ambition, and the licentiouſneſs of the late times; and that all the reſt of the French nobility placed their glory and their happineſs in their firm attachment to their prince; that the clergy, on their ſide, praiſed him no leſs, and, in effect, had no leſs reaſon to praiſe him, having but lately received a very conſiderable gratuity from him; and laſtly, that the people, beſides the ſuppreſſion of the penny in the ſhilling, had, by his majeſty, been farther relieved by an abatement of two millions in the land-tax.

I was not acquainted with any of d'Oſſat's malicious proceeding, nor of his perſonal complaints againſt me, for not paying his penſion exactly. Villeroi undertook to recommend the ſpeedy payment of it to me, and acquitted himſelf of this commiſſion, by exalting, as uſual, the great abilities and ſervices of this cardinal. Some days afterwards, I was accoſted by a banker, who made me a propoſal to diſcharge certain penſions, given by his majeſty to perſons at Rome, among others d'Oſſat's, which he did with the ſame unpolite freedom that the cabal of my enemies

mies affected to use me with. There are some offices in themselves of such dignity, as to draw respect and consideration upon the persons who possess them. I was not sorry that the banker was made sensible of this truth, and I sent him away coldly enough. D'Ossat found himself obliged to write to me four months afterwards, and I received his letter at the same time that one was brought me from my brother, who was ambassador at that court. D'Ossat expressed himself in so insolent a manner in this letter, that it certainly deserved no better an answer than I had given the banker. However, being of opinion that I ought not to regard it, I was going to make out a draught for his payment, when I received an incontestible proof of the injurious language he publicly used against me: that instant, I confess, I withdrew the warrant, which was a very exact one, and substituted another in its room of a more doubtful payment, and from that time resolved to expediate no more, but by the king's express command. I wrote to Villeroi at Metz, and acquainted him with this resolution, and in the postscript of my letter, gave him a detail of the speeches and letters of d'Ossat, in which I was concerned, and, in the height of my just indignation, gave this cardinal the epithets of ingrateful and imprudent; which, if what I had heard of him was true, he deserved; if false, I gave Villeroi to understand, that I would pay a proper regard to his interposition in favour of d'Ossat. He was still more affected by my threat to acquaint the king with the insolence of his agent, and conjured me to be pacified: I consented, and all the revenge I took upon d'Ossat, was to render his intrigues at Rome ineffectual: those in favour of the Jesuits were continued only during this year, for the society returned to France in the following year.

I SHALL resume this article in a proper place, and shall have occasion once more to introduce d'Ossat, on account of a memorial which was addressed to me from Rome against him. At present, what re-

mains to be said of him regards the co-adjutorship of Baïeux, and the abbey of Coulon, if the affair was worth a long detail; but as it is not, I shall content myself with only informing the reader that d'Ossat procured himself to be made co-adjutor of Baïeaux, and treated with the Maintenons for his abbey of Coulon, by an agreement not very advantageous for them. His majesty gave me this abbey, after performing the promise he made to the Maintenons, that they should lose nothing by it, since they obtained an equivalent upon the bishopric of Evreux. Villeroi earnestly solicited his majesty for d'Ossat, and endeavoured to engage my interest for his friend; Maintenon, on the contrary, was highly dissatisfied that this favour was granted him.

The pope's nuncio made me another complaint in the king's absence, upon the journey his majesty had undertaken. That his holiness interested himself in it, was occasioned by the Spaniards having joined to the notion they formed to themselves of the occasion of this voyage, that which was conceived of his majesty's armaments and treasures, which common fame had greatly increased, and infected even the holy father with their apprehensions. Henry, whom I informed of the nuncio's fears, ordered me to re-assure him, without troubling myself to draw either Spain or Savoy out of their opinion.

His majesty and I treated by letters of many different affairs, and amongst others that of Flanders. It was computed that, the last of February this year, the Spaniards had lost eighteen thousand men, and fired above two hundred and fifty thousand volleys of cannon before Ostend; nevertheless the siege was but very little advanced, and, in the month of April, the besiegers attempting to make a general assault, they were repulsed with great loss. From this, the archduke was convinced that, notwithstanding all his efforts, it would be time only, and a total want of men and ammunition of every kind, that would deliver the place into his power. Nassau, on his

side,

ſide, after the reduction of Grave, laid ſiege to Rhinberg, and from thence went to inveſt Boiſleduc, not conſidering that this enterpriſe exceeded his ſtrength, it being impoſſible, as I have already obſerved, to take Boiſleduc with ſo ſmall a number of troops. Accordingly he was on the point of loſing both his army and his reputation there; but, in revenge, he had the ſatisfaction to drive the Spaniards out of the caſtle of Vactendonck, where they were, in a manner, already maſters. The garriſon of this place, too weak to reſiſt them, and no longer thinking of any thing but retreating, had abandoned the city and the caſtle to their diſcretion, when they were joined by ſome Dutch troops, who paſſed by that place in their march to the army of prince Maurice, and altogether attacked the Spaniards, and diſlodged them from the caſtle.

It may be eaſily imagined, that the United Provinces could not carry on this war without being at a great expence both of men and money, to which it was abſolutely neceſſary that France ſhould continue to contribute. The ſiege of Oſtend alone had coſt them one hundred thouſand vollies of cannon, and ſeven thouſand men. His majeſty, for the intereſt of both powers, kept Buzenval * in thoſe provinces, who was then upon the point of returning to France; and the agent ſent by the ſtates to the king was named Aërſens †; this agent repreſented to me, that his countrymen would be ſoon in no condition to keep the field, unleſs his majeſty would permit

* Paul Choart de Buzenval.

† Francis Aërſens, reſident, and afterwards ambaſſador from the ſtates of Holland at the court of France. The memoirs of that time repreſent him as a man of a ſubtle, artful, and even dangerous turn of mind. Cardinal Richelieu ſpeaks of him, Oxenſtiern, chancellor of Sweden, and Guiſcardi, chancellor of Montferrat, as the three only politicians he had ever known in Europe. "It was the received opinion of that time, ſays Amelot de la Houſſaye, that Henry IV. had "an amour with Aërſens' wife, and that the huſband was content "with it, by reaſon of the profit he reaped from it: this amour laid "the foundation of his fortune. He left 100,000 livres a year to his "ſon, who was called Van Sommerdyk."

them to recruit the French companies that were in their service with Frenchmen. The king sent me an answer from Chalons-sur-Marne to this request, which I had communicated to him, and told me that he consented to it, but, to avoid an open rupture with Spain, upon these conditions, that it should be Aërsens himself that should raise the recruits, and not the officers, who would do it too publicly, having already acted in such a manner, as to draw upon him some reproaches from the king of Spain: that the recruits should be raised with the utmost expedition and the utmost secrecy; and that the soldiers who listed, the number of which he desired to know, should file off, without any noise, to the place where they were to embark, marching six in a company at most, with no other arms than their swords, and no more money than was necessary to answer their expences till they got there; that they should take shipping rather at Dieppe than Calais, this last city being too much crouded with foreigners; and that notice should be sent to Chastes, who was governor of it, and vice-admiral de Vic, whose concurrence was necessary to the design, and for whom he sent me a letter without a seal. Some alterations, however, were made in these orders; Aërsens could not levy the men alone; and it being my opinion, that I ought not to meddle in it, the officers raised the recruits, but did it with all possible secrecy. His majesty thought it would not be amiss to send the garrison he had forced to leave Metz to Flanders; and, for fear that they should list with the arch-duke, cast his eyes upon my cousin Bethune to conduct them. As for the pension for which Aërsens strongly importuned me, the king deferred taking a resolution about it till his return.

DURING the stay his majesty made at Metz, the duke of Bouillon brought his affair likewise upon the carpet: he had retired to Germany to the elector Palatine,

Palatine, to whom he was allied by the electreſs: he prevailed upon this elector to undertake his juſtification to Henry, or to deceive him again by a letter, which his majeſty ſent me immediately to have my opinion of it †. The purport of this letter, in which the elector Palatine very unſeaſonably affected to treat with the king of France as with an equal, was to repreſent to him the great affliction it gave the duke of Bouillon to have his fidelity ſuſpected by the king; and to aſſure him, that he himſelf was convinced of his innocence, by proofs which he thought unanſwerable. The king had ſent for Bouillon to come to him and clear up his conduct, and afterward gave him notice by La-Tremouille that he ſhould at leaſt ſtop at Sedan, but Bouillon had done neither the one nor the other; the Palatine therefore, to excuſe the duke, alledged, that with regard to the firſt complaint, the quality of his accuſers made it imprudent for the duke to go and abandon himſelf to them; and to the ſecond he ſaid, that the gentleman who brought his majeſty's letter had found Bouillon at Geneva, from whence he had a ſincere intention to go and expect his majeſty at Sedan; but that thinking it neceſſary to take his route through Germany, that he might avoid the countries in dependence upon Spain and Lorrain, and alſo to pay his reſpects to the elector and electreſs, his kinſwoman, whom he had not yet ſeen, it was owing to this tedious journey that he had miſſed the opportunity of receiving his majeſty at Sedan. The letter concluded with repeated aſſurances of the duke's attachment to his majeſty, for the ſincerity of which the elector brought the connexion there was between them as a proof.

HENRY anſwered the elector's letter with more politeneſs than he had reaſon to expect, and promiſed, as he had always done, to reſtore the duke of

† Hiſtory of Henry duke of Bouillon, book v.

Bouillon to his friendſhip and eſteem, but upon conditions which Bouillon knew himſelf to be too guilty to accept. In effect, at the very time that he was making theſe new proteſtations, his majeſty received, while at Metz, advice from Heidelberg, which he communicated to me, that a man, named Du-Pleſſis-Bellay, brother to the governor of the young Chatillon, had been ſent by the duke of Tremouille to the duke of Bouillon with diſpatches, in which his majeſty was nearly concerned; that this courier, who was to ſet out from Longjumeau, had orders to paſs through Sedan without making himſelf known, not even to Du-Maurier; and at his return, he was again to paſs through Sedan, and afterwards Paris, with the anſwer to Tremouille's diſpatches, whom he was to meet at Comblat. His majeſty would not have entered into ſo circumſtantial an account of this affair, but that he wiſhed (which however was not practicable) that I, in concert with Rapin, could arreſt this courier, not before his arrival at Paris, but in the road from Paris to Thouars, after he ſhould have received letters in that city, which would fully diſcover the nature of his commiſſion.

His majeſty had certainly no occaſion for farther proofs of the duke of Bouillon's guilt. I may venture to affirm, without any danger of judging too raſhly, that the ſubmiſſion which appeared in that ſtep he had lately prevailed upon the elector to make in his favour, was only diſſembled with a view to two things; the firſt was, to inſpire the king with a ſecurity in regard to his perſon, and the ſecond, to continue to draw from him thoſe ſums which for a long time he had regularly received for the ſupport of his fortreſſes. This demand he renewed by Saint-Germain, with whom Henry was highly diſpleaſed. His majeſty recommended it earneſtly to me, to have no regard to the inſtances that were made me from Bouillon, but at the ſame time to give him no reaſon to ſuſpect that I had any knowledge of what he had juſt related

to

to me. These orders were indeed unnecessary, after the discoveries I had lately made of the new discontents which Bouillon and Tremouille had excited in the provinces amongst the protestants, and from the result of the conversation I had with Henry at the arsenal, before his departure for Metz, of which I have only mentioned what related to this journey.

To proceed, after having long considered the cast of the cabal, which struck a mortal blow to the heart of Henry, I found means at last to set him at peace, by shewing him, that however formidable might be its present appearance, it would, after some ineffectual struggles, fall into nothing. Whatever notions may be formed of the levity and inconsiderateness of those whom we are pleased to term the vulgar, I have always found, that though they may fix upon some particular aims, and follow them not only with rashness but rapture, yet these aims are always to a certain degree general, and directed to some common interest; but that any private one's ends, such as proceed from the anger or wishes of a particular man, or of a small number, are never long or much regarded. I will venture to say farther, that of general interests the voice of the people will give the most certain judgment: allowing this principle, I considered the seditious party as terrible, only on account of the mischievous influence that it might have in the provinces, by misrepresentations of the king and government; and the dread that might be raised of oppression and slavery. And as those influences and those terrors would be made every day less by effects of a contrary kind, and had never infected the principal governments, or great cities, the court could never see itself opposed but by a paltry rabble, and a few petty fortresses, unable to stand a fortnight against a royal army.

The king was at Metz when he heard the first news of the sickness of queen Elizabeth, which

was sent to him by the count de Beaumont †, our ambassador at London: his majesty, thereupon, resolved to hasten his departure from that city. At his sister's request, he went from thence to Nancy, where she had caused a magnificent ballet or interlude to be prepared for his entertainment. He remained there for some days in great anxiety about the next advices which he expected to receive concerning the health of Elizabeth. The death ‡ of this great queen, which he heard of soon after, was an irreparable loss to Europe, and to Henry in particular, who could not hope, in the successor of Elizabeth, to find the same favourable disposition to all his designs as he had in this princess, "the irreconcileable enemy of his irreconcileable enemies, "and a second self:" such were the terms which Henry made use of in a letter he wrote to me on this event, which was almost wholly filled with the praises of this great queen, and expressions of sorrow for her loss.

His majesty, who was immediately sensible how greatly this event might influence the political af-

† Christopher de Harlay, governor of Orleans, who died in 1615.

‡ Elizabeth died the 4th of April, N. S. in the 70th year of her age, and the 44th of her reign. The public report and the common opinion of the historians at that time, were, that her death was occasioned by a secret grief and melancholy which she could not conquer; the occasion of which was attributed to her remorse and self-reproach for being the cause of the earl of Essex's death, for whom, among all her favourites, she had shewn the greatest affection. This is the opinion of Matthieu, tom. II. liv. iii. p. 570. Thuanus and some others say nothing of this supposed grief, but, on the contrary, say, that like Augustus, she died without grief or fear, and only through the mere failure of nature. Her hatred against our religion, and her cruelty in putting her first cousin, queen Mary, to death, have tarnished the lustre of her reign: nevertheless, I acquiese in the elogy bestowed upon her by Thuanus, who concludes his enumeration of her great abilities by saying, she had those of a king, not merely as such, but of a very great king. She spake Latin, Greek, French, Italian, and Spanish: she was also well versed in the mathematics, history, politics, &c. Besides particular histories of her life. see Thuanus, Perefixe, Journal de Hen. IV. La Septennaire, an. 1603. Memoires d'Etat de Villeroi, tom. III. p. 209. and other French historians.

fairs

fairs of Europe, determined, as I have already said, to send me in quality of ambassador extraordinary to king James. He informed me of this his intention in the letter above-mentioned; and fearing, perhaps, that I should oppose it, as I had formerly done, endeavoured to prevail upon me to accept this commission by the strongest motives, and such as he knew most likely to make an impression on me. I was the only person Henry could think of for this purpose; I repeat his words, and that because I was the only man in France who had any knowledge of the affairs that were to be negotiated in this embassy. My religion, probably, had already disposed the new king in my favour, and would gain me free access to him. I dare not mention what his majesty further said, in regard to that reputation of honour and fidelity which he said I had acquired among foreigners. Henry soon followed his letter: from Nancy he returned through Toul, Vitry, Rheims, Villers-cotterets, and Saint-Germaine-en-layé, to Fontainebleau, which, within a few days, completed a tour of two months.

I HAD received a second letter soon after the first, in which his majesty ordered me to meet him fifteen or twenty leagues from Paris. A report was current, that immediately upon the death of Elizabeth the Spaniards began to use their utmost efforts to gain the new king; we shall afterwards see that this report was but too well grounded. Henry had a thousand things to say to me on this head, which made him extremely desirous of an opportunity to converse freely with me about it. I joined him at the house of Monglat, where he had scarce any attendants with him, at which he expressed great satisfaction. He embraced me closely three times, said a few words publicly to me on the success of his journey, and enquired more particularly of me about his † buildings

† Henry IV. built the new castle of Saint-Germain, extended the gardens to the banks of the Seine, and formed its beautiful terrasses.

at Saint-Germain and Paris. Materials were then collecting for building his grand gallery at the Louvre, for the arſenal, and for other works, of which I had the inſpection and conduct, and which had been partly the ſubjects of thoſe letters I had received from him; therein he had alſo directed me to proceed in the execution of what had been projected in regard to that apartment of the Louvre called The Hall of Antiquities.

After I had, in a conciſe but ſatisfactory manner, replied to all theſe articles, Henry took me by the hand and led me into the garden, at the door of which he ordered ſome of his guards to be placed. The embaſſy to England was the ſole ſubject of our converſation. His majeſty had at firſt imparted to his court his reſolution to ſend this embaſſy, but without naming the perſon whom he had fixed upon to execute it. The knowledge of this alone had excited ſome murmurs among the partiſans of the pope and Spain, and it was ſaid, that Henry ſought allies only among princes who were of a different religion from his own. But when his majeſty, notwithſtanding, declared publicly his intention to inveſt me with this employment, their diſguſt then ſhewed itſelf without reſtraint. This whole cabal, which I had good reaſon to think was made up of my moſt inveterate enemies, boldly repreſented to his majeſty, that to ſend a huguenot to treat concerning the intereſt of the kingdom, with a prince of the ſame religion, would be highly dangerous to the ſtate; and more eſpecially ſo, were he intruſted with a full power. Finding they could not prevail upon his majeſty to revoke my nomination, they contented themſelves with getting my commiſſion confined only to condolances upon the death of the late queen, and compliments for the new king; or, at moſt, to an inſpection into the ſtate of affairs in England; but without any power to act, or even to confer, on the principal occaſion of my journey.

Henry,

HENRY, at the same time that he informed me of these secret practices in his court, of which I was till then ignorant, repeated to me his assurances, that he had not been influenced by them to alter his designs, either with respect to the embassy, his choice of me, or of the particular point which he had at first in view: and he further confirmed this his resolution, by judiciously observing, that an embassy, whose commission should be confined merely to ceremony, would be useless and vain; and that, if there were any hopes of ever seeing the new king of England pursue the maxims of Elizabeth, in regard to the political engagements of that princess, it would doubtless depend chiefly on the manner in which he should be at first prejudiced against the house of Austria, and in favour of the alliance with France and its antient partisans: but he confessed to me, that this point appeared to him, in all respect, so extremely difficult, that, unless it was managed with the utmost dexterity, both in the council of France, and at the English court, it would, perhaps, be better not to think of it at all. He further said, that it would first be necessary so to impose on the enemies which I had in the court and council, that they might suspect nothing in my commission more than what should be declared to me in their presence, and even with their consent. His majesty, on this occasion, repeated a simile, of La Riviere's, which he often used, that the kingdom of France may be compared to an apothecary's shop, in which are contained not only the most salutary remedies, but also the most subtile poisons; and that the king, like an able apothecary, ought to make the best advantage of both, by mixing them in the most proper manner. In regard to the propositions which I should make to the English ministers, he said, I ought to be cautious not to expose the sovereign of the principal kingdom in Europe to the shame of having made advances which should be neglected or despised, and

perhaps to a neceſſity of revenging them: and as to the more ſecret propoſitions, which, at a proper opportunity, I ſhould make to king James, he ſaid it would require great judgment and dexterity, to avoid haſtening, by any imprudent ſtep, his engagements with Spain, which as yet were, perhaps, uncertain, or at leaſt far from being concluded. His majeſty ſuppoſed, that all cauſes of diſſatisfaction might, as much as it was poſſible, be obviated, by giving me, in writing, and in open council, ſuch inſtructions, in regard to my embaſſy, as ſhould appear to be only general, and merely complimentary, which I might publicly produce in England as well as in France, but which, however, ſhould not prevent my ſeconding his majeſty's more particular intentions, whenever a favourable opportunity might preſent; provided, nevertheleſs, that I did it as of myſelf, and without giving this prince to underſtand, that I was authoriſed herein by the king my maſter.

WHAT his majeſty thus acquainted me with, appeared to me of ſuch great conſequence, that I deſired him to grant me four days to conſider of it, before I gave him my anſwer. I immediately ſet out poſt for Paris, to be at liberty to make my reflexions, and Henry departed from thence for Jully. I eaſily perſuaded myſelf to comply with the king's deſires, but I thought it a neceſſary precaution to have his majeſty's more immediate avowal and authority for all theſe propoſitions which he had enjoined me to make to the king of England, as of myſelf, without which I thought it would be riſquing too much. To be favourably received and heard by king James, it would be proper to begin by gaining his confidence, to which my religion gave me the beſt claim; but I was ſenſible, that, by this, I ſhould be obliged to break through thoſe bounds of circumſpection, which, in France, I had preſcribed to myſelf, out of a deference to the religion of the prince. I had no reaſon to doubt but that, whatever words might

escape me, which, in this respect, should appear somewhat free, would be as industriously reported by the enemies I should have in that court, as they could have been in France; and I had equal cause for being apprehensive, that something of this kind should be afterwards represented in such a manner, as to appear criminal in the eyes of his majesty, who, as well as other good princes, had his moments of mistrust and ill humour; and sometimes one of these moments is sufficient to ruin a minister, however firmly supported; a reverse of fortune which it was not impossible but I myself might experience.

All these considerations confirmed me in a resolution, not to depart without a writing signed by his majesty, and known only to us two, whereby, whatever my conduct might be at the court of London, and whatever expressions I might use to the king of England, I might be able, if necessary, to justify myself, and shew that I had done nothing but to promote the success of our affairs, and that by his majesty's express orders. Thus I declared myself to Henry, when, at the end of four days, he came to the arsenal to receive my answer; though indeed I made this declaration no otherwise than by saying, that I was full of fears lest any part of my conduct, on this occasion, should draw upon me the misfortune of his displeasure.

We were at that instant alone. Henry, after having taken a short turn among the workmen in the grand walk, and commended what they were doing, called me to him, and we went, as was his custom, to the end of this walk, which terminates in a kind of balcony, from whence there is a view of Paris. My proposal gave him a moment's thought, after which he confessed I was in the right, and in a few days he brought me himself the writing I required, and, having read it to me, gave it into my hands. It was expressed in such terms, as rendered it highly probable that Henry would never oblige me

to

to make it public. I was permitted to appear, to the king of England and his miniſters, ſo zealous for the reformed religion, as to give them aſſurances that I preferred it both to my country and king, to whom, on this account, I was not more attached than to the king of England. The propoſitions which I was to make this prince were alſo enumerated, but I ſhall omit them here, as being already related in the account of my conference with queen Elizabeth, and of Henry's grand deſign: I was alſo directed to deſire the king of England, in caſe he ſhould not approve of what I had to propoſe to him, not to let it be known in France, becauſe I was not authoriſed to make any ſuch propoſitions; and further (ſuppoſing king James approved them) I ſhould feign to defer communicating to the king my maſter what might be agreed between us, till I ſhould ſee whether it would be as favourably received by the northern crowns, and the ſtates-general of the United-Provinces, as by his Britannic majeſty.

SUCH was my ſecret credential letter, which I then conſidered as a great acquiſition, and no doubt the king, on his ſide, thought it as great a compliance; yet it is certain, that by this we had neither of us done what was ſufficient. It was neceſſary to be prepared for the king of England's abſolute and entire compliance with all his majeſty's intentions, and to be able to make the beſt of an opportunity, which perhaps might never offer again. In a word, to conclude a treaty, I ought to have carried with me a blank ſigned by the king; but our fear of the faction we had to combat in council did ſcarce permit us even to think of this.

IN regard to the general inſtructions which I have mentioned, the king deferred having them drawn up till he came to Fontainebleau, for which place he ſet out, attended by his whole court; and in three days his council were to follow: but they were countermanded on account of a violent diſorder, which

which seized Henry immediately after his arrival at Fontainebleau, which was about the twentieth of May*: this was so strong a retention of urine, that his physicians at first despaired of his life. The king himself was strongly persuaded that his last hour approached, and being desirous to divide the few moments which he had yet to live, between the care of his soul, and that of his kingdom, he addressed himself with great fervour to God, and then dictated the following letter, which was immediately dispatched to me at Paris, where I was making the necessary preparations for my voyage, and little expected so melancholy a message. "My friend, I "find myself so ill, that it seems highly probable "God will soon dispose of me; and it being my "duty, next to the care of my soul, to make the "necessary dispositions to secure the succession to "my children, that their reign may be prosperous, "and may promote the happiness of my wife, my "kingdom, my good and faithful servants, and my "dear people, whom I love equally with my own "children, I desire to confer with you on all these "matters: come to me therefore with all diligence, "and say nothing of it to any one; make an ap-"pearance only of going to the conventicle at Ab-"lon; and having privately ordered post-horses to "be there in readiness, proceed immediately to this "place."

The perusal of this most sensibly affected me. I set out with the greatest precipitation. When I entered the king's chamber, I found him in his bed;

* The king, says the marechal de Bassompierre, was seized with a retention of urine on the eve of Pentecost, which gave him great pain, but he was soon freed from it. The physicians being assembled, (these are the words which we find in the Journal de L'Etoile) the result of their consultations were in these terms: *Abstineat à quavis muliere, etiam regina; sin minus, periculum est ne ante tres menses elapsos vitam cum morte commutet.* Henry the IVth did not strictly observe what was here enjoined him, nor did any bad consequence arise therefrom.

the

the queen was ſeated by him, and held one of his hands between hers; he held out the other to me, and ſaid, "My good friend, draw near and em-"brace me, I am extremely glad you are come; is "it not ſtrange that, two hours after I wrote to you, "my exceſſive pains ſhould begin to abate? I hope, "by degrees, they will entirely leave me, for I "have made water three times, the laſt moſt pro-"fuſely, and with but little pain." Then turning to the queen, "This, ſaid he, of all my ſervants, is "he who beſt underſtands, and is moſt careful of, "the interior affairs of my kingdom, and, had I "been taken from you, would have been beſt able "to ſerve both you and my children: I know, in-"deed, that his temper is ſomewhat auſtere, that he "is often rather too plain for ſuch a ſpirit as yours, "and that, on this account, many have endeavour-"ed to prejudice you and my children againſt him, "that he might be removed from you; but if ever "this event ſhould happen, and you ſhould employ "ſuch and ſuch perſons (naming them ſoftly in her "ear) and, inſtead of following the good counſels "of this man, ſhould be wholly guided by their "opinions, depend upon it, it will prove deſtruc-"tive to the ſtate, and may, perhaps, ruin my "children and yourſelf. I have ſent thus ſuddenly "for him, that, with him and you, I might con-"ſult upon the means to prevent theſe evils; but I "thank God my precautions will probably not yet "be neceſſary."

COURIERS upon couriers were the next day diſpatched, to diſſipate the diſagreeable rumours which were already ſpread in all places. I did not myſelf return to Paris, till I had ſeen the king make water: he would have it ſo, and he did it twice with ſuch facility, that I was perfectly ſatisfied all danger was over. Three days after, I received a letter from him, wherein he informed me, that, having been bled in

the

the left arm by La Riviere the evening I left him, he had been greatly relieved, and, having reſted well the whole night, found himſelf grow better and better every hour. He thanked me for the intereſt I ſeemed to take in his health, and for the advice which, on this occaſion, I had been free enough to give him, to be more moderate in hunting; and he promiſed to obſerve what I had ſaid. He was already able to be as circumſtantial as uſual in thoſe details with which his letters were commonly filled: he directed me in this, to ſend two hundred crowns to each of the perſons afflicted with the evil, whom his own diſorder had prevented him from touching, and whom nevertheleſs he would not ſend back. Herein alſo, he thanked me for the portraits of the new king and queen of England, which I had ſent him. His majeſty's phyſicians were unanimous, on this occaſion, in making him the ſame repreſentations which I had done, in regard to the injury his health received from the violence of his exerciſe in hunting. He followed their advice, and found himſelf conſiderably better for it: he alſo received great benefit from the waters of Pougues, which he drank this year for ſome time, during which the young princeſs his daughter was taken ſo ill, that her life was deſpaired of; both the king and the dauphin his ſon went frequently to ſee her.

TOGETHER with this letter from his majeſty, the contents of which I have here related, I received another much longer, which Villeroi wrote to me by his order, upon the affairs of England. Herein he informed me, that his majeſty had ſent to acquaint the count of Beaumont with his recovery, that he might notify it to the king of England; alſo that I was expected by his Britannic majeſty, who attributed my delay to the king's indiſpoſition, and to the baron Du-Tour's not having notified to the king in form, the death of Elizabeth, and the acceſſion

ceſſion of James the VIth * to the crown of England. The baron Du Tour was, for this purpoſe, ſent by James to his moſt Chriſtian majeſty: he left London on the day after this prince's entry there, and arrived a few days after at Fontainebleau, where he acquitted himſelf of his commiſſion. Villeroi further informed me, that my departure from England, for theſe reaſons, being no longer to be deferred, the king would ſoon ſend for me, and inform me of the day: but his majeſty changed his intention in this reſpect, and came himſelf to Paris. The heat, which had begun early in this year, was exceſſive, and rendered the ſands of Fontainebleau inſupportable to one but juſt recovering from ſickneſs.

Two days after his majeſty's arrival at Paris, he aſſembled the chancellor Bellievre, Villeroi, Maiſſe, and Sillery, on the ſubject of my departure, and that I might receive my public inſtructions

* Henry Stuart, baron of Darnly, duke of Rotheſay, &c. eſpouſed Mary Stuart, widow of Francis II. of France; ſhe having after his death retired into Scotland. He was ſtrangled in his bed in 1567. James Stuart, at firſt king of Scotland, and afterwards of England, was his ſon, and died in 1625. On his acceſſion to the crown of England, the marquiſs of Roſny wrote the following complimentary letter to the archbiſhop of Glaſgow, at that time his ambaſſador in France; the original of which is in the cabinet of the preſent duke of Sully.

To the Scots ambaſſador.

SIR,

"The intereſt you have in the proſperity of the affairs of the "king of Scotland, joined to the deſire I have to do you ſervice, "have induced me to write to you, that, by the letter which I have "juſt received from the governor of Dieppe, you might be informed of the deceaſe of the queen of England, of the acceſſion, reception and acknowledgment of the king of Scotland to that crown, "and that all things there are in a ſtate of peace and tranquility; for "which I rejoice with you, it being highly beneficial to all, and the "deſire of every good man."

"SIR,

"Your moſt humble couſin

"and ſervant."

Signed ROSNY.

in

in their preſence. When I entered the king's cloſet, where this council was held, I told his majeſty that the count of Soiſſons was in the chamber without; and that it appeared to me neceſſary that he likewiſe ſhould be introduced, to be a witneſs of my deputation. Henry replied, that he did not know the count was there; and that, from what I had juſt ſaid, he would take occaſion to reconcile us to each other; for the count of Soiſſons' reſentment ſtill ſubſiſted. Accordingly, the count meeting me two days after, as I entered the palace, told me, that he had learned from a good hand that I had rendered him an office which he had no reaſon to expect from me; he thanked me for it, aſſured me that he would forget the paſt, and for the future would be my friend: but he did not long continue in theſe ſentiments.

THE principal object of theſe inſtructions had always been a cloſe alliance between France and England againſt Spain, notwithſtanding all that had been done to prevent it by the partiſans of that crown in France. The principal difference between theſe, and the ſecret inſtructions which I had received from his majeſty, was, that in the former he had concealed the true motives to this alliance: I will not tranſcribe them here, as the particulars would be too long and circumſtantial. The ſubſtance of them was briefly as follows: To take every opportunity of diſcourſing upon, and informing the king of England, of all the unjuſt and violent proceedings of Spain, thereby to inſpire him with an averſion to that crown: to repreſent the various arts employed by her to embroil Europe; her new uſurpations in Italy; her ſecret practices in England, by means of the Jeſuits; her intrigues in Ireland and Scotland, under the ſanction of the authority which the Pope pretends to have over thoſe kingdoms; her deſigns upon Straſbourg, by forcing the cardinal of Lorrain to conſent to the pope's

giving

giving the coadjutorſhip of it to the brother-in-law of the catholic king; finally, her proceedings to obtain univerſal monarchy: all which did but too evidently appear.

In conſequence of theſe repreſentations, the king of England muſt either have concluded a peace with Spain, or have entered into an open or ſecret war againſt that crown: in the firſt caſe, I was to convince this prince, that a peace would enable Spain to get poſſeſſion of the Low Countries: after which ſhe would not fail to turn her arms either againſt France or England; and moſt probably towards the latter, on account of the pope's long inveteracy to it. I was alſo to undeceive the king of England, in regard to the report induſtriouſly ſpread by Spain, that ſhe had no intention to get poſſeſſion of the Low Countries, but only to form them into a diſtinct kingdom, ſuch as that of Burgundy had been, to be given to the arch-duke. As a laſt reſource, I was to inſiſt, that Spain ſhould at leaſt be made to purchaſe this peace at a high price, or ſhould be obliged to the king of France or England for it; and eſpecially that ſhe ſhould give up Oſtend. In caſe an open war ſhould be reſolved upon, I was to endeavour to diſcover the intention of the king of England on that head, and if poſſible prevent it, and repreſent to him the neceſſity of beginning by giving a powerful aſſiſtance to the States.

Finally, if a ſecret war was reſolved upon, in which I was to uſe my endeavours to confirm or engage the king of England, in this caſe I was to repreſent to him, that prudence required he ſhould begin by ſtrengthening himſelf upon the throne, ſecuring it to his deſcendants, and by gaining Europe in his intereſts; ſo that Spain might be one day irreſiſtibly attacked: that till this was effected it would be proper only to keep this power in awe, or engage her in a fruitleſs employment of her forces againſt Flanders; that in the mean time the conditions of

the

the union might be agreed on, and cemented by a double marriage between the children of the two kings; which, however, ſhould not be declared till they had begun the execution of their deſigns. I was moreover to be particularly careful to regulate and determine the nature of the ſuccours which were proviſionally to be given the States; and prevent the Engliſh council from demanding the three hundred thouſand livres which that crown had lent the United Provinces, leſt they might thereby be induced to throw themſelves into the arms of Spain: on the contrary, I was to perſuade his Britannic majeſty to be at new expences, equally with his moſt Chriſtian majeſty, in favour of theſe people, and to aſſiſt them with the ſame number of ſhips as queen Elizabeth had done; alſo to obtain permiſſion, that the four hundred and fifty thouſand livres, which this queen had lent France, might be applied as exigencies ſhould require in Flanders; and that three hundred thouſand livres more might be added to them by England, that, with the ſeven hundred and fifty thouſand livres which Henry obliged himſelf to join to them, a fund might be formed of fifteen hundred thouſand livres for the preſent neceſſities of the States-General. In caſe I could not gain a compliance with theſe articles, I was to endeavour to get the States debt to England of three hundred thouſand livres diſcharged, France obliging herſelf to pay it; alſo, to manage this affair in ſuch a manner, that the king of England might not have the maritime towns of Holland delivered to him as ſecurities for theſe ſuccours; and to ſound his intentions in regard to thoſe of which he was already poſſeſſed in Zealand. In purſuance of this plan, I was to conſult with Barnevelt, act in concert with him and the ſtates deputies at London, ſeem attached to their intereſts, entertain them with agreeable hopes, perſuade them that their intereſts were the care of the Britiſh council, without giving

giving umbrage to this council, and make the beſt advantage I could of the knowledge they might have acquired of the new court and the king.

THESE were the principal points of my inſtructions: there were ſome others which did not relate to the ſame ſubject, or at leaſt not immediately; ſuch was that in regard to the piracies of the Engliſh. I was charged to complain, that ſince the treaty of Vervins they had taken from France to the amount of a million; and I was to endeavour to get a diſſolution of the treaty of commerce concluded between England and France in 1572, as being diſadvantageous to France, which by that treaty had not the ſame privileges and immunities in England that the Engliſh had in France. The cloſe union between Elizabeth and Henry had cauſed all things to be equal on both ſides during the reign of that queen, and this treaty was then conſidered as void, though it had never been formally annulled. My orders were, however, to be extremely circumſpect on this head, and even entirely to ſuppreſs it, if I found that by bringing it upon the carpet I might run any riſque of raiſing a ſuſpicion in the new king, from which Elizabeth herſelf had not been exempt, that France only ſought to embark England in a war with Spain, out of which ſhe would then eaſily extricate herſelf. If what the baron Du-Tour had ſaid in France, of his Britannic majeſty's reſolution to ſuccour Oſtend, ſhould appear to be well grounded, I might then ſpare myſelf part of theſe precautions.

THE manner in which I was to treat with the ambaſſadors of the king of Spain and the archdukes; the attention which I was to beſtow on the affairs of Ireland and Scotland; and the juſtification of Beaumont, againſt whom king James had been prejudiced, and for whom I was charged to procure the ſame privileges of this prince which were enjoyed by his agent in France: theſe were other articles of my inſtructions. There was one article

article concerning the duke of Bouillon, in reſpect to whom I was to be ſilent, unleſs the king of England ſhould ſpeak to me about him, to which he would probably be induced by the elector Palatine; and in this caſe I was to paint the duke of Bouillon in his real character, and not to engage the king of France in any thing on his account. We may obſerve, that the ſubjects of my negociations were ſufficiently extenſive; for I was to gain a knowledge of the diſpoſitions of the king and people of England, not only with reſpect to Spain and Flanders, but alſo to the northern crowns: to ſay the truth, the political ſtate of all Europe was concerned in my enſuing conduct and its conſequences.

THESE inſtructions *, in which, to my other titles, his majeſty had added that of marquis, having been read to me aloud, were then delivered to me in preſence of the count of Soiſſons, Sillery, and Jeannin, ſigned by his majeſty and Villeroi. Henry alſo gave me ſix letters, one from his majeſty to the king of England, beſides another for the ſame prince for form-ſake counter-ſigned; two others, in the ſame manner, from the king to the queen of England, and two others from the queen of France to the king and queen of England: his majeſty alſo gave me a cypher, with which the council was acquainted; but he likewiſe ſecretly gave me another, of which none but we two had the key. When I went to take my leave of this prince, he preſented me his hand to kiſs, then embraced me, wiſhed me a good voyage, repeated his reliance upon me, and his hopes of my good ſucceſs.

THE beginning of June I ſet out for Calais, where

* The original of theſe inſtructions, ſigned with Henry IV's own hand, is ſtill in being; as alſo another piece, written by M. de Roſny, bearing this title, *A memorandum made by me, and delivered to M. de Villeroi, according to his deſire, to aſſiſt him in preparing my inſtructions.* This piece is only a recapitulation of all the points which were the objects of his embaſſy to London. Cabinet of the duke of Sully.

I was to embark, having with me a retinue of upwards of two hundred gentlemen, or who called themselves such, of whom a considerable number were really of the first distinction. Just before my departure old Servin came and presented his son to me, and begged I would use my endeavours to make him a man of some worth and honesty; but he confessed it was what he dared not hope, not through any want of understanding or capacity in the young man, but from his natural inclination to all kinds of vice. The old man was in the right: what he told me having excited my curiosity to gain a thorough knowledge of young Servin, I found him to be at once both a wonder and a monster; for I can give no other idea of that assemblage of the most excellent and most pernicious qualities. Let the reader represent to himself a man of a genius so lively, and an understanding so extensive, as rendered him scarce ignorant of any thing that could be known; of so vast and ready a comprehension, that he immediately made himself master of what he attempted; and of so prodigious a memory, that he never forgot what he had once learned; he possessed all parts of philosophy and the mathematics, particularly fortification and drawing; even in theology he was so well skilled, that he was an excellent preacher whenever he had a mind to exert that talent, and an able disputant for and against the reformed religion indifferently; he not only understood Greek, Hebrew, and all the languages which we call learned, but also all the different jargons, or modern dialects; he accented and pronounced them so naturally, and so perfectly imitated the gestures and manners both of the several nations of Europe, and the particular provinces of France, that he might have been taken for a native of all or any of these countries; and this quality he applied to counterfeit all sorts of persons, wherein he succeeded wonderfully; he was, moreover, the best comedian and greatest droll that perhaps ever appeared;

peared; he had a genius for poetry, and had wrote many verſes; he played upon almoſt all inſtruments, was a perfect maſter of muſic, and ſung moſt agreeably and juſtly; he likewiſe could ſay maſs; for he was of a diſpoſition to do, as well as to know, all things: his body was perfectly well ſuited to his mind, he was light, nimble, dexterous, and fit for all exerciſes; he could ride well, and in dancing, wreſtling, and leaping, he was admired: there are not any recreative games that he did not know; and he was ſkilled in almoſt all mechanic arts. But now for the reverſe of the medal: here it appeared that he was treacherous, cruel, cowardly, deceitful; a liar, a cheat, a drunkard and glutton; a ſharper in play, immerſed in every ſpecies of vice, a blaſphemer, an atheiſt: in a word, in him might be found all the vices contrary to nature, honour, religion, and ſociety; the truth of which he himſelf evinced with his lateſt breath, for he died in the flower of his age, in a common brothel, perfectly corrupted by his debaucheries, and expired with the glaſs in his hand, curſing and denying God.

FROM the moment of my departure to that of my return, I wrote regularly to his majeſty, and gave him an exact account of whatever happened to me. My letters were of three kinds: for indifferent things I uſed only the common character; my general cypher I uſed for ſuch matters as were to be known only to the council; and my ſecret cypher I employed in what I addreſſed to the king himſelf, which was to be ſeen only by him: his majeſty choſe to have the greateſt part of my letters in this cypher, though he found the difficulty of decyphering ſo great, that he at laſt entruſted the key to Lomenie, whom he encouraged from time to time to render himſelf well ſkilled in it; but the difficulty which I experienced myſelf in the uſe of this cypher, whenever I wanted to deſcend to particulars, compelled me to abridge the ordinary length of my

letters; however, I complied with his majesty's desires in this respect as well as I could, more especially after the affair of the lost dispatch. All these letters, which I have preserved, I shall here reduce to the form of a narrative, wherein the public may be exactly informed of every material circumstance relative to my embassy at London, and my negociations with king James.

I STAYED a day at Calais, waiting for Saint-Luc and some others, who had honoured me with their company. I found the vice-admiral * of France ready to receive me: and the vice-admirals of England and Holland also came and desired I would embark in their ships. The report current at Calais, of the good understanding between the English and Spaniards, occasioned by what had passed at the embarkation of count d'Aremberg, ambassador from the arch-dukes, and the complaints which I saw made to De-Vic, of the enterprizes of the English cruizers upon the coasts of France, inclined me at first to refuse their offers; but finding nothing in the letters which I received at Calais from Beaumont, concerning what I was told, to prejudice me against the new court of London, I changed my design in this respect; and that I might not begin by giving them any cause of complaint, I accepted the two vessels offered me by the English vice-admiral.

I EMBARKED the 15th of June at six o'clock in the morning. The English, by whom I was served, paid me a respect which appeared to me to degenerate into servility: but I had very soon reason to alter this opinion of them. Even at the very moment when they desired I would command them in every respect as if they were of my own nation, De-Vic, who only sought an opportunity of shewing the English his resentment of the violences committed by their pirates, advancing, bearing the French flag on his

* Dominic De Vic, signior d'Ermenonville, governor of Saint-Denis, Calais, and Amiens, vice-admiral of France; he died in 1610.

main-

main-top-gallant-maſt, I found theſe complaiſant Engliſh were enraged at an offence, which, according to them, was equally injurious to the king of England, and the king of France, whom I repreſented: and I had reaſon to think them ſtill more rude and unpolite, when, without deigning to conſult me, fifty ſhot were immediately fired againſt De-Vic's † ſhip. It was with great difficulty that

† Thuanus and the Septenary Chronology, whoſe teſtimony hereupon is of great weight, more eſpecially as they agree in it, both ſay, that the captain of the Engliſh ſhip in which M. de Roſny was, did actually fire upon the French vice-admiral. But as I ſuſpect our Memoirs either for the honour of our nation, or perhaps from vanity, have ſomewhat qualified this matter, I will here lay it before the reader as it is related in the Chronology above-mentioned: "De-Vic, "vice-admiral of France, ſoon after he had caſt anchor in Dover-"road (at which place he had landed part of the retinue of M. de "Roſny) ſailed from thence on his return to Calais, and paſſing by "the ſhip on board of which M. de Roſny then was, he ordered his "flag to be hoiſted, and gave him a ſalute; ſoon after which, the "flag was again taken in. The Engliſh captain of the ſhip wherein "M. de Roſny was, ſeeing the French flag hoiſted, commanded his "men to fire upon the vice-admiral of France, ſwearing he would "ſuffer no flag to be ſeen in theſe ſeas but that of England. A gun "was immediately fired upon De-Vice's ſhip, who, having demanded "the reaſon of it, prepared to defend himſelf. M. de Roſny com-"plained of it to the Engliſh captain, and repreſented the firing this "ſhot as an offence done to himſelf; but he talked to a man who re-"fuſed to hear reaſon, and who anſwered him only with rage and "fury; he was therefore forced to ſubmit, and made a ſign to the "vice-admiral of France to take in his flag, which he did. De-Vic "thinking himſelf injured, demanded ſatisfaction of the Engliſh ad-"miral; who anſwered him, that the king of England, his maſter, "did not permit what the captain had preſumed to do, deſired that "he would excuſe his indiſcretion, &c. and promiſed that nothing "like it ſhould ever happen again. This reply appeaſed and quieted all "parties." Chron. Septen. and Thuanus, an. 1603. Cardinal Richlieu, in his Teſtament Politique, makes uſe of this as an argument, to demonſtrate to Lewis XIII. the abſolute neceſſity there was for a naval power: "The cannonſhot, ſays he, by piercing the veſſel, "pierced the hearts of all true Frenchmen; and if the words of king "James were civil, yet were they of no other effect, than to oblige "the duke of Sully to obtain his ſatisfaction from his own prudence, "by feigning to be contented, tho' his diſcontent, and his reaſon for "it, was really greater, and farther from being removed than ever. "The king, your father, was under a neceſſity to uſe diſſimulation on "this occaſion, but he did it with the reſolution, whenever it "might again be neceſſary, to maintain the juſt rights of his crown

I made myself heard; which, however, I at last effected, by representing to them, that De-Vic acted thus only to do me the greater honour; and also to give me a more distinguished mark of his respect, by dropping his flag upon my first command so to do. I thought it would be most prudent to do this; and my English hearing what I said, were so far prevailed upon by it, as to make their next discharge at random. I made a signal to De-Vic, which he perfectly understood, and took in his flag; but, as I was afterwards told, he swore at the same time to be revenged on the English whenever he should again meet with them. Though I much question, had the opportunity now been given him, whether he could have obtained the revenge he threatened: be that however as it will, the dispute was ended by this means, and our passage met with no further interruption.

I ARRIVED at Dover about three o'clock in the afternoon. Beaumont, together with Sir Lewis Lewkenor, were there waiting for me. Sir Lewis had the same office in England, which Gondy had in France, being that part of the reception of ambassadors which consists in providing them with lodging, provisions, horses, or chariots, and other things of this nature. The mayor of Dover also came and complimented me; and the acclamations of the people were so great, that it was said, that nothing like it had ever before been seen for any ambassador. But I was not now to be imposed upon by these appearances, having so lately received a different specimen of the English politeness, of which

" by such a naval force as time would furnish him with the " means to acquire." Part II. chap. ix. In regard to the fact, which is also related in the Testament, the circumstances are told in a manner almost entirely different. We may further observe, that M. de Sully, in that part of his Memoirs where he speaks of the satisfaction which he desired king James to grant him, passes it over very slightly; doubtless, because he would not appear to have been so very grievously offended as perhaps he really was.

I had another example, even before my departure from Dover.

THE governor of this place ſent his nephew to me, to deſire I would come with him and ſee the caſtle, he not being able to wait on me himſelf, being confined to his bed by the gout. This invitation was followed by a ſecond, from which I conceived a good opinion of the perſon by whom they were ſent; and I thought the imputation of want of civilty might juſtly have fallen upon myſelf, had I after this quitted Dover, without waiting on the governor. I therefore went to the caſtle the next day, with all my retinue; but I ſoon diſcovered, that the chief motive to this civil invitation was the pecuniary reward exacted of thoſe who have the curioſity to ſee the caſtle of Dover. This was demanded of every one of my retinue, and that too rudely enough, which was followed by the ceremony of making all, except myſelf, quit their ſwords. Being introduced to the governor, whoſe name was Thomas Wymes, he received us ſeated in his chair, but, perceiving that ſome of us were looking at the towers and walls of the caſtle, he put on ſo ſour a countenance, that, pretending to be afraid leſt our preſence might incommode him, I immediately withdrew, without looking at any thing further. I had exhorted my retinue, whatever might be ſaid or done to them, not to forget the rules of French politeneſs; and this proved to be no unneceſſary caution.

WHEN we were upon our departure for London, Lewkenor no longer ſhewed himſelf that polite and obliging perſon, who but juſt before had demanded a liſt of thoſe who accompanied me, that, as he ſaid, they might all be furniſhed with the neceſſary horſes and chariots: and I could not but ſuppoſe his ſole deſign, in getting this liſt, was that he might ſend it to London; for he ſuffered all my retinue to provide themſelves horſes as well as they could, and at their own coſts; and theſe mild people lent them at

ſo high a price, and at the ſame time with ſo much arrogance, that they ſeemed to think they did us a favour. However, we all carefully concealed our ſentiments of ſo rude a treatment. My own conveyance I procured in the coach of the count of Beaumont.

I HAD more reaſon to be pleaſed with the behaviour of the gentry in and about Canterbury: they came to meet me upon the road; and that they might pay me all imaginable honours and reſpects, they pretended to have received orders ſo to do from the king of England. Canterbury is but a ſmall city, tho' extremely populous, and ſo polite that, in no other place, I received ſuch diſtinguiſhed honours and civilities as there; ſome came to kiſs my boot, others to kiſs my hands, and others to make me preſents of flowers; all which muſt be attributed not to the Engliſh of this city (they every where preſerve their character of averſion for the French) but to the Walloons and Flemiſh, who, having at many different times taken refuge in this city on account of their religion, have at laſt almoſt entirely changed it, and, at this day, compoſe two thirds of its inhabitants. I viſited the church, and was preſent at the ſervice, wherein the muſic was excellent. The church is extremely beautiful and magnificent. When the canons underſtood that I was of their religion, they redoubled their careſſes and civilities: one of them ſhewed himſelf ſo well affected to France, as to give me an information of ſome conſequence, which was afterwards confirmed by Aërſens to Henry himſelf. This canon had been intimately acquainted with Arnold, the father of him whom I had with me as one of my ſecretaries; and being informed that this was the ſon of his old friend, he came to ſee him, and, among other things, told him, that he had been informed by the ſecretary of count Aremberg *, ambaſſador from the arch-

* John de Ligne, prince of Barbançon, count of Aremberg.

duke,

duke, who had passed through Canterbury only a few days before, that his master was charged to represent to the king of England, with a view to engage him in an alliance with Spain, that Henry meditated great designs against England, which would openly appear in less than two years; and, at the same time, to make offers to his Britannic majesty of powerful succours from the king of Spain, with which he might prevent the designs that Henry meditated, by seizing certain provinces of France, on which the king of England had much juster pretensions, than any Henry could have upon England.

HERE my lord Sidney came, and complimented me from the king of England, and made me many obliging offers of service. I knew that the person who had been charged with the same commission to count d'Aremberg, was my lord Howard, whose rank was much superior to Sidney's, being the duke of Norfolk's nephew, uncle to the great chamberlain, and member of the privy-council: at first, therefore, I was apprehensive that this deputation might be a mark of some contempt from the king of England; but afterwards reflecting that the quality of the person who had received the ambassador from Spain was inferior even to Sidney's, I concluded that all this might be merely accidental, more especially as I could not receive greater honours than those which Sidney, and others by his direction, paid me. I nevertheless communicated my thoughts hereupon to Beaumont, by desiring him to get an explanation of it, but to do it with such address, that no cause might be given to perceive a misunderstanding, where, perhaps, none was intended to be shewn. Beaumont addressed himself to Sidney himself, and managed the affair with him so well, that he immediately wrote to the court of London, to inform them that they should send an earl of the privy-council to receive me, which was done accordingly. The ear of Southamptom, one of the ministers and con-

fidents of king James, came to me from that prince at Gravesend, accompanied by a numerous train of nobility and gentry. In our way to Gravesend we passed through Rochester, where our reception was extremely different from that at Canterbury; the inhabitants of that city had effaced the marks which were placed by the king of England's messengers on those houses where we were to be entertained and lodged, if necessary.

At Gravesend I was received in the king of England's barges, a kind of covered boats, which are very commodious and richly ornamented; and in one of these I was carried up the Thames to London, where, upon my arrival, the Tower alone saluted us with upwards of three thousand guns, besides the discharges from several ship-guns, and the musquetry from the mole and fort before this tower: I scarce ever heard a finer salute. I landed near the Tower, where many coaches, of which Southampton and Sidney performed the honours, were ready to carry me, and all my retinue, to the house of the count of Beaumont, which I had chosen for the day. The confluence of people was so great, that we could scarce open ourselves a passage.

This very evening, I had an opportunity of being better acquainted with the character of the two English lords who had been sent to conduct me. Upon my arrival at Beaumont's, my lord Southampton took me aside, and having told me, that the king, who was at Windsor, a castle about twenty miles from London, had ordered him to come to him there that day, however late it might be, to inform him of the particulars of my arrival, he earnestly desired, having first expressed to me his zeal, that I would impart something to him which he might communicate to his majesty, no doubt with an intention to do himself honour by it, and gain the favour of that prince. After him my lord Sidney came, and made me the same request, by ingenuously telling

telling me, that he hoped the honour which he had received by being firſt deputed to me, and the reſpect and attachment which he had for his moſt chriſtian majeſty, might merit my reſerving for him at leaſt ſome part of the affairs with which I was charged; and he added, that I ſhould not diſcloſe myſelf entirely to Southampton. I plainly perceived theſe gentlemen had a mutual jealouſy of each other, and contended who ſhould be the firſt that ſhould give the king any informations. I very civilly thanked them, and appeared obliged to both, but gave the preference to Sidney; that is to ſay, the former received only falſe, and the latter nothing farther than general informations of but little conſequence, and ſuch as I ſhould have been glad to ſee publiſhed.

THEY both made what uſe of them they thought proper: as to myſelf, I ſupped and lay this evening at Beaumont's, and I dined there the next day; for ſo ſhort a time had not been ſufficient to procure and prepare me lodgings, till the palace of Arundel, which was deſtined for me, could be got ready. This palace was one of the fineſt, and from its great number of apartments upon the ſame floor, the moſt commodious in London: but this greatly embaraſſed my retinue, which could not be all lodged at Beaumont's. Houſes and apartments were ſought in the neighbourhood, but the difficulty was to get them; for the inhabitants refuſed to receive us, on account of the miſbehaviour which they had but lately experienced in ſome of marechal Biron's people; the greateſt part therefore had like to have been obliged to paſs the night in the ſtreet.

IT muſt indeed be confeſſed, that, if what I heard on this ſubject was true, Biron, by the exceſſes which he had ſuffered his whole retinue to commit, had not ineffectually laboured to juſtify the animoſity of the Engliſh nation againſt us. I am accuſtomed to ſpeak my ſentiments freely, and never more ſo than when they may be of uſe in correcting our

manners. The youth of our nation have not yet divested themselves of that vain, pert, and conceited air, nor those licentious and even audacious manners, with which we have, in all ages, been reproached: unfortunately too they are not more circumspect among foreigners than in their own country, where they are accustomed to spend their lives at gaming-tables, and other places of debauchery, and run into boundless excesses.

I WAS fully resolved, that, if my conduct could not clear France from this reproach, it should not, at least, be incurred by those over whom I had authority; and I determined to exercise this authority in such a manner, as to oblige all my people to a strict regularity of behaviour: but in these cases precepts are seldom effectual; I therefore enforced them by an example, for which an opportunity happened almost immediately.

I WAS the next day accommodated with apartments in a very handsome house, situate in a great square, near which all my retinue were also provided with the necessary lodgings; some of them went to entertain themselves with common women of the town: at the same place they met with some English, with whom they quarrelled, fought, and one of the English was killed. The populace, who were before prejudiced against us, being excited by the family of the deceased, who was a substantial citizen, assembled, and began loudly to threaten revenge upon all the French, even in their lodgings. The affair soon began to appear of great consequence; for the number of people assembled upon the occasion was presently increased to upwards of three thousand, which obliged the French to fly for an asylum into the house of the ambassador. I did not at first take notice of it; the evening advanced, and I was playing at primero with the marquis D'Oraison, Saint-Luc, and Blerancourt; but observing them come in at different times by three or four together, and with

with great emotion, I at last imagined something extraordinary had happened, and having questioned Terrail and Gadancourt, they informed me of the particulars.

THE honour of my nation, my own in particular, and the interest of my negotiation, were the first objects that presented themselves to my mind. I was also most sensibly grieved, that my entry into London should be marked at the beginning by so fatal an accident; and at that moment, I am persuaded, my countenance plainly expressed the sentiments with which I was agitated. Guided by my first impulse, I arose, took a flambeaux, and, ordering all that were in the house (which was about an hundred) to range themselves round the walls, hoped, by this means, to discover the murderer, which I did without any difficulty, by his agitation and fear: he was for denying it at first, but I soon obliged him to confess the truth. He was a young man, and the son of the sieur de Combaut, principal examiner in chancery, very rich, and a kinsman likewise of Beaumont's, who, entering that moment, desired me to give young Combaut into his hands, that he might endeavour to save him. "I do not wonder," replied I to Beaumont, with an air of authority and indignation, "that the English and you are at va-"riance, if you are capable of preferring the interest "of yourself and your relations, to that of the king "and the public: but the service of the king my "master, and the safety of so many gentlemen of "good families, shall not suffer for such an impru-"dent stripling as this." I told Beaumont, in plain terms, that Combaut should be beheaded in a few minutes. "How, sir, cried Beaumont, be-"head a kinsman of mine, possessed of two hundred "thousand crowns, an only son! it is but an ill "recompence for the trouble he has given "himself, and the expence he has been at to accom-"pany you." I again replied, in as positive a tone,

" I had no occaſion for ſuch company:" and to be ſhort, I deſired Beaumont to quit my apartment; for I thought it would be improper to have him preſent in the council, which I intended to hold immediately, in order to pronounce ſentence of death upon Combaut.

In this council, I made choice only of the oldeſt and the wiſeſt of my retinue; and the affair being preſently determined, I ſent Arnaud to inform the mayor of London of it, and to deſire him to have his officers ready the next day, to conduct the culprit to the place of execution, and to have the executioner there ready to receive him. The mayor returned me for anſwer, that his firſt care had been to quiet the tumultuous populace, not doubting but I would do him juſtice; and that he was juſt coming to demand it of me, when he received my letter and the ſentence: he moreover exhorted me to moderate it, either becauſe my ſeverity had diſarmed his, or, which ſeemed moſt probable, becauſe he had already ſuffered himſelf to be gained by preſents from the friends of the criminal. I ſent again to this magiſtrate to inform him, that as no ſuperior authority, nor reſpect for any perſon whatever, had determined me to pronounce this ſentence, I could not conſent to revoke it: that, by carrying it into execution, I ſhould juſtify the king my maſter, and give the Engliſh nation a convincing proof, that I had done every thing upon the occaſion which my duty required; therefore, in ſuch an affair, I could only acquit myſelf of it by committing it to him, and by reſigning the priſoner to ſuch puniſhment as juſtice and the laws of England required. I accordingly ſent Combaut to him; ſo that the whole procedure became a particular affair between the mayor and Combaut, or rather Beaumont, who without much difficulty, obtained this magiſtrate's conſent to ſet Combaut at liberty, a favour which none could impute to me; on the contrary, I perceived both the French and

Engliſh

Engliſh ſeemed to think, that, if the affair had been determined by me, it would not have ended ſo well for Combaut; and the conſequence of this to me, with reſpect to the Engliſh and French, was, that the former began to love me, and the latter to fear me more.

THIS removed at leaſt one obſtacle to the ſucceſs of my negotiation: but there ſtill remained many to encounter, from the nation in general, from the king, and from other particular perſons, according as their different intereſts might incline them to traverſe it. It is certain that the Engliſh hate us, and this hatred is ſo general and inveterate, that one would almoſt be tempted to number it among their natural diſpoſitions: it is undoubtedly an effect of their arrogance and pride; for no nation in Europe is more haughty and inſolent, nor more conceited of its ſuperior excellence: were they to be believed, underſtanding and common ſenſe are to be found only among them; they are obſtinately wedded to all their own opinions, and deſpiſe thoſe of every other nation; and to hear others or ſuſpect themſelves, is what never enters into their thoughts. This temper is more injurious to themſelves than to us, as from hence they are at the mercy of all their caprices: ſometimes one would be induced to think they have contracted all the inſtability of the element by which they are ſurrounded; with them all things muſt ſubmit to the reigning diſpoſitions, and the ſole difference between them and any the moſt inconſtant people in Europe, is, that their inconſtancy proceeds not from lightneſs, but from their vanity, which continually ſhews itſelf in a thouſand different ſhapes. Their ſelf-love renders themſelves ſlaves to all their capricious humours. What they at one time believe to have wiſely performed, or firmly reſolved, is at another time deſtroyed, without their knowing or being able to give a reaſon; they are accordingly ſo undetermined in themſelves, that frequently one would not take them

for the same persons, and from hence they themselves sometimes appear surprised on perceiving their own continued irresolution. If we examine what are called their maxims of state, we shall discover in them only the laws of pride itself, adopted by arrogance or indolence.

FROM this portrait, it may at first appear not to be extremely difficult for an ambassador to inspire them with new resolutions; and this is true; but then it is only for the present moment: this being elapsed, they no longer remember what you may have enforced to them in the strongest manner. So that a king of France must continually have near them a person of understanding and authority, who might compel them, as it were, to hear him, and force them to be reasonable; and even in this case, such a person would always have their pride to combat, which inspires them with a belief that they are infinitely superior to all the other nations in Europe †.

FRANCE therefore can no more depend on the English than on any of her other neighbours; her true interest and best policy is to render her own interior state and condition such as may make her not only entirely independent, but also able to compel all Europe to feel its want of her; and this, after all, would only be difficult to ministers who can conceive no other methods to effect it than war and violence, methods that ought never to be pursued without an absolute necessity: but let the sovereign shew himself a lover of peace, disinterested in what regards himself, and strictly impartial with respect to others, he will then be certain to preserve all his neighbours

† I wish, with all my heart, I could have entirely suppressed every thing in this character, and in this whole relation, so little advantageous to a nation, whose virtues and genius have rendered it equally well respected and esteemed. To reconcile truth with the veracity of the author, we can only say, that he has here painted the English such as they appeared to him at that time: one of the most happy effects of the cultivation of arts, and the improvement of sciences, is, that those prejudices and partialities, which were the cause of hatred and jealousy, have hereby been dissipated.

in

in that dependence which is only durable, becauſe it conciliates the affections, inſtead of ſubjecting the perſons †.

I DARE farther maintain, that peace is the great and common intereſt of Europe, the petty princes of which ought to be continually employed in preſerving it between the greater powers by all the moſt gentle and perſuaſive means; and the greater powers ſhould force the leſſer into it, if neceſſary, by aſſiſting the weak and oppreſſed; this is the only uſe they ought to make of their ſuperiority. When I conſider Europe as compoſed of ſuch civilized people, I cannot but be aſtoniſhed that ſhe ſtill continues to be governed by principles ſo narrow, and cuſtoms ſo barbarous. What is the conſequence of that profound policy of which ſhe is ſo vain, other than her own continual laceration and ruin? War is the reſource in all places and upon all occaſions; ſhe knows no other way, nor conceives any other expedients; it is the ſole reſource of the moſt inconſiderable ſovereign, as well as of the greateſt potentate; the only difference between them is, that the former makes it with leſs noiſe and in conjunction with others, while the latter does it with great preparation and frequently alone, that he may ſhew his grandeur, though in reality he only ſhews himſelf more ſignally deſpicable. Why muſt we always impoſe on ourſelves the neceſſity of paſſing through war to arrive at peace? the attainment of which is the end of all wars, and is a plain proof that recourſe is

† It is not ſurpriſing to hear ſuch reaſoning as this now we have acquired juſter notions in war and politics, and that France is arrived at ſo great a degree of glory, that conqueſts can add nothing or but very little to it: but what opinion muſt we conceive of the views and penetration of the duke of Sully, when we behold him eſtabliſhing principles, in appearance ſo improper for the ſtates of miſery and weakneſs, in which the kingdom was at that time, or at leaſt from whence it was but juſt recovered? It is by ſuch true, ſolid, and wiſe maxims as theſe, that the memoirs of Sully have become a rich mine, from whence all our able miniſters have ſince drawn inеſtimable treaſures.

had

had to war only for want of a better expedient: nevertheless, we have so effectually confounded this truth, that we seem to make peace only that we may again be able to make war. But let us now return to the English.

THE court of London might be considered as composed of four sorts of persons, who formed so many different factions; and from this circumstance only one may infer, what in reality was true, that this court was full of suspicion, mistrust, jealousy, private and even public discontents. I shall here advance nothing, the truth of which I was not well convinced of, either by my own observations, or from the lights I received from the partisans of France, from those who called themselves such, from the discontented, and in short, from many other opportunities which occasionally occurred. The first of these factions was the Scotch, at the head of which were the earl of Mar, lord Mountjoy, lord Kintore, and other gentlemen of the king's bedchamber; they were in the interest of France, and endeavoured to engage the king in their party, who seemed disposed to suffer himself to be governed entirely: some of them were tolerably skilled in military affairs, but not one of them was acquainted with the business of the cabinet. I have not mentioned the earl of Lennox in this number, because, though he was equally well inclined to France, he had nevertheless a party among the Scots which was separate from that of the earl of Mar, and even opposite to it, not indeed in its political principles, but only in a competition which should have the advantage in the king's favour, and there was a reciprocal and inveterate hatred between them. Thus the Scotch faction had subdivided itself into two.

THE second, in all respects entirely opposite to the former, was the Spanish faction: in this all the Howards were engaged, having at their head the admiral of that name, the great chamberlain, the master

master of the horse, the Humes, and others of less note. The third was composed of a number of old English, who, considering France and Spain as equiponderous, or being equally jealous of these two nations, were attached to neither, and sought to render Flanders independent of both, by restoring the antient kindom of Burgundy. The first movers of this faction were the chancellor, the high-treasurer, and Cecil the secretary of state, at least as far as one could judge of a man who was all mystery; for he separated from, or united with all parties, according as he judged it most advantageous to his own particular interest: he had borne the principal sway in the late government, and he endeavoured with the same subtilty to acquire an equal share in the present; his experience, joined to his address, had already made him be considered by the king and queen as a necessary man. Lastly, there was a fourth faction, composed of such as meddled in affairs, without having any connexion with those before-mentioned, and even without having any agreement among themselves, unless that they would not separate nor unite with any other; their character was purely English; they breathed a spirit of sedition, and were ready to undertake any thing in favour of novelties, even were it against the king himself. They had at their head the earls of Northumberland, Southampton, and Cumberland, lord Cobham, Sir Walter Raleigh, Griffin, and others.

NOTHING could as yet be discovered with regard to any of these factions, except that they mutually hated and were jealous of each other; and it was impossible to foretel which would at length obtain the ascendant, and gain the prince in its interests. To judge from appearances, his favour would be disputed only by the men of learning, and the favourites of his bed-chamber; the first, because by their superior knowledge and dexterity they commonly succeeded better than others in gaining their master; the

the second, because they had the advantage of familiarity, and of being admitted into all his parties of pleasure: but the king's humour and inclinations were not yet sufficiently known; besides, that his accession to such a crown as that of England might occasion such alterations in them as would render any judgment on this head extremely precarious.

ALL that I had to fear was, lest, among the different sentiments with which endeavours would be used to inspire James, those should prove to be most difficult that were to attach him to the interests of France. Hitherto his inclinations had been conformable to those of the Northern powers, who were for making three divisions of the house of Austria; Spain, Germany, and Burgundy: they detested the first, as being too powerful and enterprising; the second they despised; but would however have been reconciled to it, by disuniting it from the Pope, Spain, and the Jesuits; the third was as yet only imaginary, but was what they so passionately desired, that they would have spared nothing to restore it, provided they would have also separated its interests from those of Spain and Germany, or at least have obliged these powers to renounce all pretensions upon one another.

KING James was not so well disposed in favour of Henry as Elizabeth had been; he had been informed that Henry, in derision, had called him, "Captain of arts, and clerk of arms." There was some reason to apprehend, that it would be difficult at first to hinder him from entertaining thoughts of renewing the antient pretences of England upon France, of which his courtiers had not failed to talk to him very earnestly. As to myself, it had been hinted to him, that both I and my brother had spoke of him in terms not very respectful. But to give the reader a more perfect knowledge of the character of this prince, let me add, that he meant well, was conscientious, eloquent, and had some erudition; tho'

less

leſs of the latter, than of penetration and a diſpoſition to learning. He loved to hear diſcourſes on ſtate-affairs, and to be entertained with great deſigns, which he himſelf conſidered and diſpoſed with a ſpirit of method and ſyſtem; but he never thought of carrying them farther, for he naturally hated war, and yet more to engage in it himſelf. He was indolent in his actions, except in hunting, and wanted application in his affairs; all which were ſigns of an eaſy and timid diſpoſition, that made it highly probable he would be governed by others; and this was farther confirmed by his behaviour to the queen, his wife †.

THE character of this princeſs was quite the reverſe of her huſband's; ſhe was naturally bold and enterprizing; ſhe loved pomp and grandeur, tumult and intrigue. She was deeply engaged in all the civil factions, not only in Scotland, in relation to the catholics, whom ſhe ſupported, and had even firſt encouraged, but alſo in England, where the diſcontented, whoſe numbers were very conſiderable, were not ſorry to be ſupported by a princeſs deſtined to become their queen. Every one knows that women, though but weak inſtruments in ſolid affairs, often act a dangerous part in intrigues. The king could not be ignorant of this, but he was ſo weak as never to be able to reſiſt, nor perſonally to contradict her, though ſhe made no ſcruple publicly to ſhew that ſhe did not always conform to his ſentiments. He came to London long before her: ſhe was ſtill in Scotland when I arrived at that city, and James wiſhed ſhe would not have departed from thence ſo ſoon, being perſuaded that her preſence would only be detrimental to affairs. He ſent to acquaint her with his deſire, and that with an air of authority, which coſts nothing to aſſume againſt thoſe who are abſent, but ſhe was very little affected by it.

† Anne, daughter of Frederic II. king of Denmark, queen of Scotland, afterwards of Great Britain, ſhe died in 1619.

INSTEAD of obeying, the queen prepared to quit Scotland, after having of her own accord, and againſt the king's expreſs deſire, appointed herſelf a great chamberlain of her houſhold. She was alſo attended by the earl of Orkney, and another Scotch nobleman; and brought with her the body of the male child of which ſhe had been delivered in Scotland, becauſe endeavours had been uſed to perſuade the public, that its death was only feigned. She alſo brought with her the prince, her eldeſt ſon, whom ſhe in public affected to govern abſolutely, and whom it was ſaid, ſhe ſought to inſpire with ſentiments in favour of Spain; for it was not doubted but that ſhe was inclined to declare on that ſide. Nevertheleſs, the young prince gave her no room to be pleaſed with his deference for her: he naturally hated Spain, and favoured France; and this preſage was ſo much the more happy, as from the aſſemblage of ambition, greatneſs, and generoſity, already perceivable in him, he promiſed one day to become one of thoſe princes who are the ſubject of much converſation. He was, from report, acquainted with the character of the king of France, and he propoſed making him his model; which was certainly very diſagreeable to the queen his mother, who, it was ſaid, had reſolved to deſtroy his French diſpoſition, by having him ſent to be educated in Spain.

THUS I have given ſome account of the ſtate of the court of London, at the time when I began my negotiation. The character of the reſt of the principal perſons who compoſed it, will more particularly appear in the enſuing part of theſe Memoirs. Here therefore I will only add, that beſides count d'Aremberg from the arch-dukes, prince Henry of Naſſau, and the other deputies from the States-General, whom I found here upon my arrival, the ambaſſador from his catholic majeſty, and the envoys from Sweden † and Denmark, were alſo hourly expected,

† Chriſtiern IV.

and

and they accordingly arrived the day after me. There were likewise some others, but not of sufficient consequence to be particularly mentioned. Upon the whole, it appeared as though all the princes of Europe considered the gaining England in their interests, to be of the utmost importance to them.

The first of the foreign ministers whom I saw at the court of London were those of the elector Palatine, who having already made their compliments to the new king, and being prepared to return home, came to take their leave of me, almost immediately after my arrival, but nothing particular passed between us. Soon after they had left me, Cecil sent his principal secretary to be informed by Beaumont, at what hour he might conveniently see me; and he accordingly came in the afternoon. So long as we had any witnesses of our conversation, Cecil talked to me only of the king of England's affection for the king of France, of the desire which he had of giving him proofs of it, and other things in the same strain, which could only be regarded as compliments; nevertheless, when we were in my chamber only with Beaumont, I pretended to consider what he had said as very serious; and this I did to gain an opportunity of representing to him, how highly advantageous an union between the two kings would be to both, and of urging the engagements they had formerly contracted, and the services each had received from the other.

This general introduction served me at least to form a judgment of the disposition of the person who spoke to me; and from his reply, I perceived it was not favourable to France. Cecil made me a long harangue, the design of which was, to convince me that his master ought not to meddle in any of the affairs of his neighbours, but leave Holland to act as it should judge proper, in regard to its disputes with Spain. He spoke of Ostend as a place little worth the

the pains which had been taken to preserve it; and of the commerce of the Indies, as an advantage, of which, in good policy, the Low Countries ought to be deprived. I opposed these sentiments; and tho' he seemed convinced by my arguments, he nevertheless appeared very little inclined to enforce them to the king his master. He changed the subject, by informing me, that his majesty was gone to Greenwich, in order to avoid the solicitations which count D'Aremberg would not have failed to make, to obtain his audience before mine, which his majesty could not have refused him, because he had arrived before me, and which, nevertheless, he was not disposed to grant. To this favour, which Cecil gave me to understand was not inconsiderable, he also added that of offering me my audience, which was a second obligation, no less valuable than the former, as all ambassadors were customarily obliged to demand it of the king; neither was it his fault, if I did not also regard the deputation of such a man as him as a particular mark of respect. I was not, however, deficient in my acknowledgments to the deputy, and I desired he would give himself the trouble to testify my gratitude for it to the king.

NOTWITHSTANDING all the pains this secretary had taken to persuade me, that no one, after the king, had so much power as himself, and that he even governed in the councils of the prince, I thought I perceived the contrary. I likewise imagined, that, fearing lest some of his competitors should deprive him of any of his important employments, he had solicited, and perhaps with great assiduity, of the king his master, that of treating with me, wherein he acted as if he thought himself degraded by the execution of it. La-Fontaine, and the deputies of the States-General, who entered just as Cecil went out, were, from his behaviour, of the same opinion; and this did not appear to us an unfortunate circumstance, no more than the observation

tion which they had made, that since James had been informed of my departure from France to London, he had begun to treat them with more kindness; having before then refused both to see or speak to the prince of Nassau, and even publicly given the States the epithet of "seditious rebels." These deputies began to persuade me, that the king of France ought not only to inspire the king of England with more favourable sentiments in regard to them, but should openly declare himself their defender. They had much more to say on this head, but it was late, and supper was on the tables; I therefore dismissed them, with general assurances that they should be satisfied.

I GAVE them a more positive answer to Barnevelt † their principal, when he came to see me at the palace of Arundel, of which I was now in possession. Barnevelt, like his collegues, began by magnifying the miseries to which the United Provinces were reduced, the expences they had been at since the peace of Vervins, their debts, and their exhausted condition. He said the States could no longer keep Ostend, nor resist the Spaniards, unless the king of France caused a powerful army to march without delay, and either through the frontiers of Picardy, or the territories belonging to the arch-duke, enter Flanders from the land-side, which was the only means of forcing the Spaniards from before Ostend, having proved, they said, by experience, that the Spaniards could easily destroy, one after the other, all the little succours that were sent them by sea, and that immediately on their landing. After all these complaints, he concluded, as his collegues had done, that Henry ought to declare himself their protector, and enter into an offensive and defensive alliance with them.

I TOLD Barnevelt, in plain terms, that he must renounce any such hopes; for that Henry was not at

† John d'Olden de Barnevelt, lord of Tempel.

all

all disposed, through complaisance for them, to draw upon himself the whole force of Spain, nor alone to support the burden of a war, in which, supposing the king of England should refuse to be concerned, he could not expect to have the advantage. For this reason, I told him, as was really the case, that I could neither take any resolution, nor say any thing positive to them, till I had at least founded the dispositions of this prince with regard to them. Barnevelt having been at London for a considerable time, might reasonably be supposed to have acquired some knowledge of the king, I therefore asked him what discoveries he had made? He replied, that this prince having from the first been inclined to peace, both by the advice of his counsellors, and his own passive disposition, had long deprived them of all hopes; but, having apparently reflected that this peace would cost England dear, if by his inaction the Flemish should return under the dominion of the Spaniards, or should be obliged, in order to free themselves from it, to accept that of France; and having perhaps been made sensible what even England had to fear from a power, who, without any regard to justice, attempted whatever seemed for its conveniency, when all other objects became insufficient to satisfy its unbounded desire. These considerations seemed to have thrown James into a state of perplexity, out of which he had probably not yet extricated himself; for he had said nothing more to them, than that he would not separate himself from France; on the contrary, that he only waited the arrival of the French ambassador, to unite more closely with Henry, by concluding a double marriage between the two families.

THESE informations which I received from Barnevelt would have dissipated part of my fears, had the king of England been one of those princes on whom one could depend: but in all this, with respect to himself, I could only perceive dissimulation,

or,

or, at beſt, irreſolution; for thoſe of his miniſters whom I had reaſon to believe were beſt acquainted with the ſecrets of his councils, upon every occaſion conſtantly ſaid, that all endeavours to inſpire them with a dread of Spain would be vain, the ſituation of their iſland protecting them againſt the enterpriſes of any foreign power whatever. It would indeed have been highly imprudent in the States and Barnevelt to have judged any otherwiſe, or have deferred taking meaſures to prevent their final ruin, till James had taken his reſolution; and I believe the States were too good politicians to have committed ſuch a miſtake. In conſequence of this opinion, which I communicated to Barnevelt, I conjured him, by all the intereſt of his country, not to conceal from me any of the moſt ſecret reſolutions which had been there taken, upon a ſuppoſition that England would abandon them, or even, which was but too likely, that ſhe would endeavour to augment their diſtreſs, by taking this opportunity to demand the cautionary towns offered to Elizabeth.

BARNEVELT finding himſelf preſſed, and conſidering me as the confident of a prince who was the only true friend to his country, no longer heſitated to diſcover all to me: and after having intimated the merit of ſo important a ſecret, he informed me, that the council of the United Provinces had reſolved, at all events, to avoid giving up the cautionary towns; that the terms of their treaty with Elizabeth would furniſh them with the means of doing this, by the time which might be required to examine the tenor of it; that in caſe they found themſelves too cloſely preſſed by the Engliſh and Spaniards, they would endeavour to bring upon the carpet the treaty of Brunſwic and Vandrelep, offering Oſtend to be ſequeſtrated till the concluſion of the treaty; that during this interval, ſome event might perhaps happen in their favour, and thus, at leaſt for the preſent, a

ſtop be put to the powerful forces preparing in Spain againſt Oſtend.

In order to underſtand what is here ſaid of the treaties with Elizabeth and Spain, it is neceſſary to know, that the late queen of England had demanded of the States certain towns †, as a ſecurity for the money which ſhe had lent them, with this gracious clauſe in their favour, that they ſhould not give her the poſſeſſion of them, unleſs they entered into an accommodation with Spain without her conſent. As to the other treaty, it was propoſed, in the height of the hoſtilities between Spain and the United Provinces, to put the conteſted countries under the power of the houſe of Auſtria; not the branch which reigned in Spain, but that which poſſeſſed the empire of Germany. But whether the States or Spain, or, which is moſt probable, both, were the cauſe of it, the treaty that was begun by the duke of Brunſwic, and continued by count Vandrelep, came to nothing: the former demanded, that the provinces and towns which Spain ſtill preſerved, or had regained in Flanders, ſhould be comprehended in the treaty, becauſe, ſaid they, they riſqued too much by being ſo near the power of Spain, who taking advantage of a pretended peace, might eaſily regain poſſeſſion of what ſhe appeared to abandon; and the latter could not but with regret think of ſeparating ſo brilliant a gem from her crown.

In the afternoon of this day, I was viſited by the reſident from Venice, who was the ſecretary of that republic: he was as free and unreſerved in his diſcourſe with me as Barnevelt had been; for his ſtate was in the ſame ſituation of jealouſy and complaints againſt Spain, and of union with France: he further confirmed to me what I had before ſtrongly ſuſpected, of the irreſolution of James: he told me, that this prince, who ſo often and ſo loudly repeated the

† Fleſſingue and Brille.

high

high founding words "the policy of Europe," did, in reality, concern himself with nothing less; and that his dissimulation, which his flatterers complimented in him as a virtue, had always consisted in giving hopes to all, but accomplishing none; that it was not to be expected he would change his maxims, having frequently been heard to say, that it was to such an artful conduct alone he owed his security when king of Scotland; and therefore it was highly probable that he would again put those arts in practice, and pursue them more steadily than ever, at the beginning of a reign, and at the head of a great kingdom, whose people, affairs, and neighbours, he was utterly unacquainted with: all which were circumstances favourable to his maxim.

These reflections of the Venetian were at once sensible and just. He afterwards informed me of the duke of Bouillon's proceedings with the new king, whom, by the envoys from the elector Palatine, he had solicited to speak to Henry in his favour: but James stopped them by saying, that it did not become a great prince to intercede for a rebellious subject. After this mortifying reply, I know not what were Bouillon's thoughts of that scheme which had been concerted between La Tremouille, D'Entragues, Du-Plessis, and himself, and had bore in their opinions so favourable an aspect: this scheme was to make the king of England protector of the calvinist party in France, and the elector Palatine his lieutenant. Bouillon's agent in London was an Englishman named Wilem, who had entered into his service after having quitted that of his majesty, to whom he had been huntsman, and one of his grooms of the chamber, known under the French name of Le Blank. D'Entragues' agent was named Du-Panni: he was very frequently at Beaumont's, and his principal correspondence was with the duke of Lennox and his brother. Henry had informed me of all these particulars in his letters, and having by

his order made enquiries concerning them, I found they were exactly true. D'Entragues was certainly in the right thus to negotiate by others; for had he appeared at London, he would soon have been discovered to be a man of many words and but little understanding. The testimony which I on all occasions bore to this truth, did not advance his affairs.

THE same day also count d'Aremberg sent one of his retinue to wait upon me, excusing his not coming himself, as custom did not permit such visits till after he had received his first audience of the king. All that passed between me and this nobleman consisted in compliments, offers of service, and assurances of peace and friendship, in all which nothing was wanting but sincerity.

THE king of England, who had before acquainted me that he would grant me an audience on the twenty-second, which was Sunday, sent a gentleman to confirm it to me, to desire I would not think the time tedious, and to be informed how I was lodged, and whether I wanted any thing. To this favour was also added the present of half a buck, which, as this prince informed me by the bearer, was the first he had ever taken in his life, though he was a great lover of the chace; the reason was, there was none in Scotland. From hence he took occasion to make Henry a compliment, by saying that he attributed his good fortune to the arrival of a man, who came from a prince that was looked upon to be the king of hunters. I replied, that this conformity of inclination in their majesties was to me a presage of their personal union, unless a jealousy of the chace should prevent it; that, in this case, I would take the liberty to offer myself as arbiter between their majesties, being so disinterested and indifferent in this article, that when the king my master made a party for the chace, he was so far from thinking, like the king of England, that my presence would contribute to its

success,

ſucceſs, that he generally ſent me to purſue other affairs in the cabinet, where, he ſaid, I was more happy. Though there was nothing ſerious in all this, I was nevertheleſs glad of the opportunity that was afforded me to inſinuate myſelf into his Britiſh majeſty's favour, and with this view I turned my compliment in ſuch a manner as might pleaſe the ſelf-complacency of James, who, I very well knew, was extremely flattered by any compariſon with the king of France. I returned the compliment which count d'Aremberg had paid me, and, at the ſame time, ſent him half my preſent.

ONE part of the orders I had given with regard to the ceremony of my audience, was, that all my retinue ſhould appear in mourning, to execute with propriety the firſt part of my commiſſion, which conſiſted in complimenting the new king on the death of Elizabeth, though I had been informed at Calais, that no one, whether ambaſſador, foreigner, or Engliſh, was admitted into the preſence of the new king in black; and Beaumont had ſince repreſented to me, that what I intended would moſt certainly be highly diſagreeable to the court, where ſo ſtrong an affectation prevailed to obliterate the memory of that great princeſs, that ſhe was never ſpoke of, and even the mention of her name induſtriouſly avoided.

I SHOULD have been very glad not to have been ſenſible of the neceſſity I was laid under of appearing in a garb, which would ſeem to caſt a reproach on the king and all England: but my orders hereupon were poſitive, not to mention that they were almoſt laudable; and this was the reaſon I paid no regard to Beaumont's repreſentations, who entreated me to defer putting myſelf to this trouble and expence, till he had wrote about it to Erſkine and ſome others, who were beſt acquainted with the court ceremonial. He wrote accordingly, but received no anſwer on Thurſday, Friday, nor even all day on Saturday; and I ſtill perſiſted in my reſolu-

tion, notwithſtanding the reaſons which he continually gave me to the contrary. On Saturday night, which was the evening of the day preceding my audience, and ſo late that I was in bed, Beaumont came to tell me, that Erſkine had ſent to acquaint him, that the whole court conſidered my intention as a premeditated affront; and that I had ſo offended the king by it, that nothing would more effectually prevent the ſucceſs of my negociation, from its very commencement. This information agreeing with thoſe of my lord Sidney, the viſcount de Saraot, La-Fontaine, and the States deputies, it was impoſſible for me to be in doubt about it; and, through fear leſt a greater evil ſhould enſue, I cauſed all my retinue to change their apparel, and provide themſelves others as well as they could. Lewkener coming the next morning to inform me that I ſhould be preſented to the king at three o'clock in the afternoon, I perceived, from the ſatisfaction which he expreſſed at the new orders I had given, that it was indiſpenſably neceſſary to vanquiſh my repugnance; nevertheleſs, it publicly gained me almoſt as much honour, as if I had perſiſted in my intention, becauſe none were ignorant that I had complied only through abſolute neceſſity.

BOOK XV.

THE king of England's guards, with the earl of Derby at their head, came to attend me from the palace of Arundel, and eſcorted me to the Thames, whoſe banks they lined whilſt I went down to Greenwich. This paſſage I made in the king's barges, being attended by one hundred and twenty gentlemen, ſelected from my whole retinue. Upon my landing, I was received by the earl of Northum-

Northumberland, who, through an infinite number of people, conducted me to the king's palace.

I ENTERED into a chamber, where we were presented with a collation, though contrary to an eſtabliſhed cuſtom of England, never to treat ambaſſadors, nor even to offer them a glaſs of water. His majeſty having ſent to deſire my appearance in his preſence, I was above a quarter of an hour before I could get to the foot of his throne, occaſioned both by the great numbers that were already there, and becauſe I made all my retinue walk before me. The prince no ſooner perceived me than he deſcended two ſteps, and would have deſcended them all, ſo very deſirous he appeared to receive and embrace me, had not one of his miniſters, who ſtood next him, whiſpered ſoftly in his ear, that he ought to go no farther. "If, ſaid he aloud, I ſhew this ambaſſador particular marks of honour, and ſuch as are contrary to cuſtom, I mean not thereby to give a precedent to others. I particularly love and eſteem him for the affection which I know he has for me, for his firmneſs in our religion, and his fidelity to his maſter." I dare not repeat all that he ſaid to my advantage. I received ſo obliging a favour with all due reſpect; and replied, not by an harangue, ſuch as ſome may, perhaps, expect to ſee here, and with which court-pedants would be more pleaſed; but only by a compliment, which, in reality, comprehended as much, and was more ſuitable to my ſituation. Henry's affliction for the death of Elizabeth, his joy for the acceſſion of James to the throne of England, the praiſes of the two kings; all theſe I compriſed in very few words. I excuſed myſelf from my want of rhetorical abilities, and from his moſt Chriſtian majeſty's having himſelf explained his ſentiments in his letters, which I at the ſame time preſented, diſtinguiſhing to his Britannic majeſty, that which Henry had wrote with his own hand. He read them himſelf, and then gave them to Cecil; ex-

preſſing, at the ſame time, how ſenſible he was of their contents, by theſe words, "That he had not "left in Scotland the ardor with which he had al- "ways loved the king of France, and deſired the "proſperity of his crown." I continued to compliment his majeſty, though in the ſtyle of common converſation; for that of haranguing was extremely diſagreeable to me. I ſaid, that Henry had given public demonſtrations of his joy, on ſeeing the throne of England filled by a prince who was ſo worthy of it, and for his having been ſo readily and univerſally acknowledged; that if there had been occaſion for the preſence of his moſt Chriſtian majeſty, he would have given proofs of his ſincere attachment to his intereſts, and union with his perſon, and have come with pleaſure to any place where his preſence might have been neceſſary. I did not repent my having made this compliment. James replied, that if he had even found the Engliſh at war with the French, his endeavours would, nevertheleſs, have been to live in peace with a prince who, like himſelf, had been called from the crown of Navarre to that of France: "It being always com- "mendable, ſaid he, to overcome evil with good." But that he had had the double ſatisfaction, of quitting a crown in friendſhip with France, for another that was not leſs ſo. The late queen was mentioned on this occaſion, but without one word in her praiſe.

AFTER this, his majeſty being deſirous to diſcourſe longer and more familiarly with me, he made me aſcend all the ſteps leading to the throne. I took this occaſion to make my particular compliment, for which he thanked me with an air of ſincerity and affection. He did not conceal from me the information which he had received from Paris, of the diſcourſes attributed to Henry, to me, and to my brother, after his return from Scotland: he confeſſed that he had for ſome time believed them, but that he had at laſt diſcovered the whole to be only an ar-

arti-

tifice of their common enemies, who, by using such means to open themselves a passage to universal monarchy, had rendered themselves much more odious to him. He exclaimed in very severe terms against the Spaniards, which could not but give great pleasure to Nassau, who was near enough to hear something of what was said; and also to the Flemish deputies, who were present, tho' incognito, having not yet been able to obtain audience. He spoke of their endeavours to kindle the flames of war amongst their neighbours with the greatest abhorrence; protested that he would oppose their unjust designs; and talked of the king of Spain, as a man too weak both in body and mind to think of the great chimera's of his predecessors. The pleasure which I received from this discourse was sufficient to make me desirous of continuing it. I told the king of England, that he was extremely happy in being so well acquainted with the character of the Spaniards only by the experience of others, but that it was not so with the king of France: to prove which, I instanced what they had done since the conclusion of so solemn a peace as that of Vervins; the revolt of Biron, the war of Savoy, and some other grievances. I added, that such was the artifice of the Spanish councils, that to put the change upon Europe in regard to its injuries, they always began by complaining first: which conduct was equally dangerous and detestable with that which they usually practised, of treating with their neighbours only with the premeditated intention of deceiving them, even by that security which treaties ought to give. James replied, that all this he knew very well. In a word, I could no longer doubt, that the resentment which he shewed against Spain, before so many witnesses, was as sincere as it was violent. From this moment the first dawn of hope began to appear in my favour.

The king of England changed this subject to that

of hunting, for which he discovered an extravagant passion. He said, that he knew very well I was no great lover of the chace; that he had attributed the late success of his sport to me, not as marquis of Rosny, but as ambassador from a king who was not only the greatest prince, but the greatest hunter in the world: and added very politely, that Henry was in the right not to carry me to the chace, because I was of greater service to him elsewhere; and that if I pursued the chace, the king of France could not. I replied, that Henry loved all the exercises, but that none of them made him neglect the care of his affairs, nor prevented him from a close inspection into the proceedings of his ministers; being far from that blind credulity which the king of Spain had for the duke of Lerma. Hereupon James said that without doubt I had found it very difficult to regulate the finances, and resist the importunities of the great men of the kingdom: and of this he produced some instances, of which I had lost the remembrance. He then suddenly asked me as it were by interrupting himself, how the king of France did? I judged, from the manner in which this question was asked, that endeavours had been used to persuade this prince, that Henry, since his late indisposition, could not live long; that he had given credit to it; and that this opinion would be the most powerful motive to prevent his union with France, as he could have but little dependance upon a minor king. I endeavoured therefore to undeceive him, in regard to all these false reports, and succeeded. But he further said, that he had been told one thing in regard to Henry, for which he was extremely sorry; and this was, that his physicians had forbid him the chace. To this I replied, that such advice was, perhaps, what he himself would do well to pursue. In reality, James had but lately narrowly escaped breaking his arm in the chace, the manner of which accident he had related to me.

When

When I acquainted Henry with this part of our converſation, he, in his anſwer, ordered me to tell the king of England, that in purſuance to the advice of his phyſicians, he was more moderate in his hunting than he uſed to be, and that ſince my departure he had been at the death of five or ſix ſtags without the leaſt inconvenience. "Well," ſaid the king of England to me, ſtill continuing the ſame ſubject, "I underſtand you have ſent part of the "produce of my ſport to count d'Aremberg; and "how do you think he received it? I aſſure you, it "was not at all agreeable to him. He ſays, you "ſent it only to ſhew that you was more regarded "than he; and he is in the right, for I will ſurely "make ſome difference between my good brother "the king of France, and his maſters, who have "ſent me an ambaſſador who can neither walk nor "talk; he demanded an audience of me in a garden, "becauſe he could not walk up ſtairs into a room." James then aſked me, whether the Spaniſh ambaſſador, who had been ſent to him, had paſſed through France? and upon my replying that he had: "Spain, "ſaid he, ſends me an ambaſſador poſt, that he "may arrive the ſooner, and finiſh ours affairs in "poſt-haſte." Thus upon every occaſion he inveighed againſt the Spaniards. Taxis *, courier-major to his Catholic majeſty, had, in effect, taken his route through France into Flanders, from thence to repair to London; and this journey he had performed with great expedition, though his orders extended no farther, than merely to diſcover the intentions of the king of England. The real ambaſſador was Velaſco †, conſtable of Caſtile, who ſoon followed him.

After all this, James aſked me (for he did not dwell long upon one ſubject) whether I went to the

* John Taxis count of Villa-Mediana. † John Ferdinand de Velaſco duke of Frias.

proteſtant church in London? Upon my replying that I did: "Then, ſaid he, you are not reſolved, "as I have been informed, to quit our religion, af- "ter the example of Sancy, who thought by that "condeſcenſion to make his fortune; but, by God's "providence, did juſt the contrary." I treated this report as a calumny, and ſaid, that my living in France in friendſhip with ſo many eccleſiaſtics, and being ſo frequently viſited by the pope's nuncio, might perhaps have given riſe to it. "Do you give "the pope the title of Holineſs?" ſaid James. I replied, "That to conform to the cuſtom eſtabliſhed "in France, I did." He was then for proving to me that this cuſtom was an offence againſt God, to to whom alone this title could juſtly belong. I replied, that I ſuppoſed that a greater crime was not hereby committed, than by the frequent giving to princes ſuch titles as they were well known not to deſerve. He ſpoke to me of Du-Pleſſis, and appeared ſomewhat concerned for his fortune and preſent condition: he ſaid, that I ought not entirely to forget him; that it was true, he had been greatly to blame, to publiſh his laſt book under his own name; becauſe, by the titles which he therein gave himſelf, he obliged the king of France to take notice of it; but that this ought not to obliterate the remembrance of the ſervices which he had rendered the proteſtant religion. He ſaid not a word to me, either of Holland, or the duke of Bouillon; but he highly approved Henry's chaſtiſement of the duke of Savoy, who was, he ſaid, an ambitious and turbulent man.

I THINK I have omitted nothing of any conſequence of what was ſaid to me by the king of England, in this my firſt audience. When he was inclined to put an end to it, he entered into his cabinet, ſaying, it would be time for me to go to ſupper, and to my repoſe. Upon my coming out of the chamber, I was accoſted by admiral Howard, lord Mountjoy, and Stafford, and the great chamberlain. Erſkine,

Erſkine, in conducting me croſs the court of the palace, ſpoke to me of his attachment to his moſt Chriſtian majeſty, and his deſire of being ranked amongſt the number of my friends. The earl of Northumberland, who had received me at my landing, and who again attended me to the river upon my departure, ſaid pretty near the ſame to me: no one amongſt the Engliſh lords has more underſtanding, capacity, courage, nor poſſeſſes more authority, than he: he manifeſted a great deſire to have a private converſation with me upon the preſent affairs. I gathered from what he ſaid, though he did not ſpeak in plain terms, that he was not ſatisfied with the government; that he blamed the greateſt part of the king's actions; in ſhort, to ſay it in a word, that he had no great ſhare either of fidelity or eſteem for James. It is not neceſſary to ſay with what reſerve and circumſpection I liſtened to ſuch diſcourſe.

THE open declaration which the king of England had made againſt Spain, had given me ſome hopes that the court of London would be inſenſibly prejudiced againſt that court. In the interval between my firſt and ſecond audience, ſeveral things happened which increaſed theſe hopes. An Engliſh catholic, who was likewiſe a jeſuit (as was firſt reported) was ſeized in the habit of a poor traveller, and being queſtioned, he confeſſed that he had diſguiſed himſelf in this manner, to deliver the catholic church from the oppreſſion of the new king of England, unleſs he re-eſtabliſhed the Romiſh religion in his dominions ſolely, or at leaſt with privileges equal to thoſe enjoyed by the proteſtants, and unleſs he likewiſe declared himſelf againſt the proteſtants of Holland; that eight other jeſuits had conſpired with him in this deſign, and that they had actually diſperſed themſelves in different parts of London, in order to embrace an opportunity that might offer to deſtroy this prince. But the report was falſe, in regard to the perſon of this ſuſpected Engliſhman, for

he

he was not a jesuit*, but only a seminary priest. Had the truth of all the other circumstances been equally well discovered, probably the whole affair would have been reduced almost to nothing; but this was not done. James, according to his character, taking umbrage immediately, imagined that the reason count d'Aremberg deferred demanding his audience, was not on account of his indisposition, which was dissembled, and that he only waited till the supposed conspirators had accomplished their design, or at least till by their intrigues in the kingdom they had occasioned a revolution, which would have released him from his obligations to wait on the king at court.

It is inconceivable to what a length this frivolous suspicion was carried. The queen was at the same time coming to London: this, said they, was to favour the Spanish faction; which so disturbed James, that he immediately sent the earl of Lennox expressly to forbid that princess to continue her journey: but whether the earl could not, or whether he rather chose not to succeed in his commission, the queen did not obey. Lennox was recalled, and the king remained only the more perplexed. After his example, his ministers, courtiers, and particularly the old court, being prejudiced in favour of the maxims of the preceding reign, began to shew themselves greatly disgusted both with the queen and with Spain. They called to mind the conduct and policy of Elizabeth, who had lived in a perpetual mistrust of the court of Madrid. And now they lavished upon her those praises of which they had been before so sparing, and seemed displeased with themselves at the indifference they had shewn to her memory; nor must I forget that it was not without doing violence

* Thuanus, no more than M. de Sully, charges the jesuits with having any concern in this conspiracy, which is the same that will be mentioned below.

to

to myſelf, that I refrained following ſuch a general example.

I BELIEVE the Spaniſh faction, during all this, was in no little pain; for inſtead of talking, as before, only of peace and neutrality with all the world, nothing was now more common than to hear it ſaid, that ſo far from having any dependence on what Spain called her friendſhip and alliance, it was not even ſafe to contract with her; that the ambaſſador of this court had not dared to preſent himſelf in London, and that moſt certainly he could not come thither, for fear of becoming the object, and perhaps the victim, of the public indignation. The conduct of his Catholic majeſty was compared with that of his moſt Chriſtian majeſty. Henry's procedure appeared ſo open and ingenuous, and ſo far from all deceit, that it carried conviction with it: he, ſaid they, would never have ſent into England the man who, of all others in his kingdom, was moſt neceſſary to him, to machinate a deceit unworthy of them both: nor would I myſelf, in quitting the court, have thereby left an open field to the malignity of my enemies, only to come and act one of thoſe characters, whoſe concluſion is generally that of beholding one's ſelf at once both diſhonoured and ſacrificed to the public indignation. In ſhort, if an union between the two crowns, which I propoſed, was not in all reſpects the beſt conduct that they could purſue, it was at leaſt the ſafeſt; for what would Spain be able to do, when the two confederate kings ſhould conſider all dangers which might happen to either, as equally common to both? It was thus that they ſometimes reaſoned in the council, and in the preſence of the king of England, very much to the ſatisfaction of thoſe counſellors who were in our intereſts, and who neglected no opportunity of gaining the prince in their party. My lord Mountjoy, whom I had made my intimate friend, on account of the almoſt public profeſſion

which he made of attachment to France, here used his utmost interest and endeavours.

But all this only dissipated part of my fears; I perceived so many other obstacles, that they almost entirely discouraged me; what I might expect from the queen only scarce appeared surmountable. My apprehensions from the secretary Cecil, were but little inferior to those from the queen. He was at this time separated from his former friends, and had united with the Scots. I endeavoured to penetrate into the real motives of this separation; for I was strongly persuaded of the insincerity of this subtle minister's proceedings. Perhaps his hopes might be in time to become head of the Scotch party, and afterwards to unite it with the English, whom he might have abandoned only in appearance; but these Scotch lords were so difficult to manage, and so much upon their guard against the English, that he could not but be baffled notwithstanding all his efforts; and he was himself too penetrating not to be perfectly sensible of it. Accordingly it was said (and when I became acquainted with the arts of this minister I was myself of the same opinion) that he had sought the Scots, who were real confidants and favourites of his majesty, only to make himself known, and render himself necessary to this prince; that, having succeeded thus far, he knew perfectly well how to center all power in himself, and, making use of the king's name and authority, would silence the queen, the English, and even the Scots themselves, or at least would leave to those he should judge proper only some faint shadow of favour, and would then reassume his real character. And what is most remarkable, it was not unlikely that this subtle man was himself the dupe of the Scots, who pretended to be such to him; for is it possible that Cecil, known in England by every one to be the most ambitious and most tenacious of power of all men, should remain unknown only to them?

But

But no doubt they all knew that the prince's ear was not alone sufficient to maintain them at the head of affairs, with which they were not in the least acquainted, and of which the secretary only could give them the best information.

SUPPOSING also that the Scottish party was undoubtedly firm in the interests of France, there still remained a material doubt, whether so haughty a people as the English would submit to be governed by foreigners, and more especially by the Scots, who at all times had been the object of their aversion: and besides, it was far from being certain that the Scots would always continue to possess the king's favour; for the regard which he already began to shew to the earl of Essex, Southampton, and my lord Mountjoy, plainly proved that they might easily lose their influence. Lastly, to increase this unpromising aspect, the two kings of Sweden and Denmark, whose representations might have been of great weight in determining this prince, and who had hitherto been so unanimous with Henry, that they had concurred in all his designs, now either did it not at all, or did it with such indifference, that their example was far from inspiring a proper resolution. In the frequent conferences which I had with their ambassadors, in presence of the earl of Mar, lord Mountjoy, and Erskine who was present, three times, as being a common friend, they made me the fairest speeches imaginable; their aversion for Spain appeared equal to mine; they even proceeded so far as to draw up a kind of scheme, whereby they ratified whatever Henry might do for all of them, even in regard to the division of conquests, which they agreed might easily be performed by means of a firm and durable union. But our conference being ended, they no longer remembered any of their promises, and beheld nothing but obstacles, in regard to which in my presence they had kept a profound silence. A

strange

ſtrange behaviour this! from whence, however, I made ſome diſcovery of what ſort of men I had to deal with.

My lord Mountjoy told me one day in confidence, that he had been preſent at a meeting of theſe ambaſſadors, wherein only thoſe of his majeſty's council and the Sates-deputies were admitted; that here, inſtead of labouring mutually to ſtrengthen themſelves in laudable reſolutions, each of them had only ſought to draw himſelf out of the affair. He gave me an account of their deliberations. The Daniſh deputy repreſented, that indeed his maſter poſſeſſed a great extent of territory, but for the moſt part barren, and, by the inconveniency of its ſituation, rather expenſive than profitable; that the ſubmiſſion and tractableneſs of the people was an advantage of no uſe to the king his maſter, becauſe, from the prodigious variation of their manners and cuſtoms, he could neither underſtand them, nor could they underſtand one another; and that he was now actually engaged in endeavours to eſtabliſh a general and uniform regulation among them, which did not permit him to be concerned in any other enterpriſe. The Swede ſaid, it would be highly imprudent for his maſter to engage in a foreign war, becauſe his nephew, the king of Poland, had not yet forgot his pretenſions to the crown of Sweden, but on the contrary, ſeemed diſpoſed to renew them with more vigour than ever; ſo that the preſervation of his own dominions might probably find him ſufficient employment. Barnevelt, in the name of the reſt of his brethren, explained himſelf in a manner ſo different from his uſual complaints, that, I confeſs, I am at a loſs to conceive what could be the intention of ſo ſtrange a procedure: he ſpoke of Spain only with contempt; in the revolt of the Spaniards, and the forces of the Sates, he found reſources ſufficient to preſerve them from all oppreſſion; he ſeemed no longer to deſpair of the ſucceſs of Oſtend as formerly,

ly, and intimated, that his masters had conceived a design which would more than indemnify them for that loss, supposing it should happen. The English ministers taking their text from a saying of the king of England, That every new king if he had the smallest degree of good conduct, ought at least to let a year and a day pass before he made any innovation, though of the smallest consequence; concluded unanimously, that it would be most prudent to wait, and they remained firm to this determination. If we consider these geniuses of the North † with some little attention, we shall perceive they constantly preserve some affinity with the nature of their climate; they have but little vigour of thought, few resources in their imagination, little constancy in their resolutions, and not the least tincture of good policy. The example of Elizabeth is an exception to this rule, and is so much the more glorious to that great queen.

I NOW only wanted to be as well acquainted with the Spanish councils, as I was with those of Britain and the North; or, in other words, I wanted only to know what were the real designs of that crown, what propositions she had already made to the king of England, how they had been received, and finally, what steps she intended to take for the accomplishment of her desires; for barely to understand that the king of Spain sought to detach England from France and the Low Countries, was knowing nothing, or at most very little. It was suspected that Spain meditated something of much greater importance; this might be conjectured from the information which I had already received from the canon at Canterbury; and it appeared so much the less to be neglected, because Aersens and Barnevelt both at the same time affirmed the certainty of it, the one at

† The times are changed; and I do not doubt if the author had lived in our days, but he would have done justice to the wisdom and policy of some of the Northern powers.

Paris,

Paris, the other at London. I therefore used my utmost endeavours to come at the truth. What I was told by my lord Cobham and Sir Walter Raleigh was conformable to this information: but what made the greatest impression upon me was, that the earl of Northumberland, whom I had gained by the offer of a considerable pension, under the name of a present, with great secrecy, one night when I was going to bed, sent his secretary to acquaint me with the following particulars.

FROM the moment king James ascended the throne of England, said his secretary, the king of Spain has not ceased to sollicit him, either by his own agents, or those of the archdukes, or by the English catholics, to enter into an offensive and defensive alliance with him, against France and the United-Provinces, whom he calls their common enemies. He has omitted nothing which might persuade him that both of them, but more especially that his Britannic majesty, had a title so clear and incontestable to several provinces in France, that it would be shameful in him not to make use of it, at a time when the exhausted condition of that kingdom presented so fair an opportunity: and the means proposed by Spain to secure the success of this interprise, were, that James and his catholic majesty should, at the same time, demand of France the restitution of Normandy, Guienne, and Poitou, for the king of England; Bretagne, and Bourgogne, for the king of Spain; and, upon a refusal, to fall upon these provinces with all their united forces. His Catholic majesty for this purpose, has even offered to draw all his forces out of the Low Countries, moreover to renounce all his pretensions upon the United-Provinces, and grant them that liberty which they so ardently desire, upon a supposition, however, that, in consideration of this favour, they would consent to strengthen the league by joining it, and by concurring in all their designs. The king of England

England having made no anſwer to all theſe great offers, farther than by ſaying, that they were premature, and that he choſe to begin his reign by gaining a knowledge of all his new ſubjects, and by ſtrengthening himſelf upon the throne, Spain eaſily perceived that this reply was a civil refuſal; and James not being diſpoſed by open force to attempt the recovery of his antient poſſeſſions, Spain then turned her endeavours to perſuade this prince, at leaſt to favour the French provinces in their deſign (of which ſhe informed him) to erect themſelves, after the example of Switzerland, into an independent republic. All this has been repreſented to James to be extremely eaſy to effect. It has been ſaid, theſe provinces impatiently waited a favourable opportunity to ſhake off their inſupportable yoke; the Spaniſh emiſſaries, ſeconding theſe diſpoſitions, have every where reported that it only depended on themſelves, whether they would enjoy a profound tranquility without taxes, ſubſidies, or military garriſons, under ſhelter of the two crowns their protectors, and that they had no cauſe to apprehend either the reſentment of Henry, or the violences of his troops, becauſe care would be taken at the ſame time to involve him in ſo many other perplexities, that he would be under a neceſſity of ſuffering them to preſcribe their own laws. We do not yet hear, added the ſecretary of the earl of Northumberland, what James replied to this ſecond propoſition; we conjecture that it was not more favourably received than the former, becauſe the Spaniſh emiſſaries, in their conferences with his Brittannic majeſty, have ſeveral times been obliged to change their ſyſtem, or ſucceſſively to repeat the ſame again with different modifications. Sometimes they have offered him the whole force and all the treaſures of Spain, to uſe them againſt France in whatever manner he ſhould judge proper, without requiring any thing more in return, than that he ſhould conclude

no

no treaty without their consent, nor should concern himself in any manner in their quarrel with Flanders; at other times, they have descended only to desire that he would give no assistance to the United-Provinces.

If the whole of what was here related to me was true, from thence might be concluded that France, without knowing it, was actually in the most imminent danger, because a single word of approbation from king James would have drawn upon her a most terrible storm. But for my own part I confess, that to me this appears so extravagant and so much beyond the bounds of probability, that, from whatever places it might come confirmed, I cannot believe that Spain would ever think of proposing to king James any thing like the first propositions which are here related. Supposing all difficulties were removed between Spain and England, in regard to the armament and the partition, which, however, would be no inconsiderable discussion, yet had they well considered how many other difficulties would arise from a difference of religions, interests, manners, and customs, both between themselves and with the French provinces which they supposed conformable to their sentiments.

That article which concerns the United-Provinces, alone destroys the whole of this project. If Spain began by endeavouring to subject them, this crown and that of England could not be ignorant that such an enterprise was alone capable to destroy, or at least for a considerable time to prevent the execution of their common designs, because France, being once convinced that her own safety depended on the prevention or retarding of this conquest, would have considered assisting the states as defending herself: and if Spain proposed to gain these provinces in her interests, she should herein have been more grosly deceived; for

for no offer, not excepting even that of liberty, would have been able to reconcile them with their moſt mortal enemy, much leſs to incline them to aſſiſt her in her conqueſts, and that too of their antient and only ally. I am not ignorant of the manner in which the States deputies have always thought, they upon all occaſions have conſtantly ſaid, that Spain deceived them, that England trifled with them, and that France alone was favourably diſpoſed towards them; and if ſometimes they have talked in a different manner, as in the conference above-mentioned, it was either to excite the French to make ſtill greater efforts in their favour, or to inſpire the Engliſh with the ſentiments of France in regard to them: beſides, will any one believe that Spain would voluntarily relinquiſh territories, which her own force might acquire?

In regard to the informations which Henry and I received on this head, neither the canon of Canterbury nor Barnevelt, who with Aërſens muſt be conſidered only as one, becauſe the former received his information from the latter, could be ſufficiently depended upon; the firſt might have been deceived, and the ſecond might have ſought to deceive us, which deceit was not ineffectual in promoting the ſucceſs of their affairs. In regard to the three Engliſh lords, I was ſo far from depending upon what they ſaid, that, on the contrary, I ſuſpected they were themſelves the ſole authors of the whole ſcheme; that they had concerted it together, and then, with proper alterations, preſented it to the king of England, to me, to the States deputies, and to the public, thereby to appear as perſons of conſequence; which was quite ſuitable to their characters. In regard to Spain, I made no doubt but ſhe would be pleaſed to hear ſuch reports ſpread, and even that ſhe would gladly uſe her endeavours to make them believed, not with any intention ſeriouſly to confer with his Britannic majeſty concerning them, nor

even

even that they ſhould come to his ears, but only with deſign to encreaſe the diſcord, and augment the number of the ſeditious in thoſe provinces of France which were intereſted therein. It was in theſe terms that I wrote about it to Henry, who ſometime conſidered the whole as an artifice of the States to accelerate a rupture between him and Spain, and ſometimes believed it true in regard to Spain, who, from a deſire to deſtroy Henry, and a hope of profiting from the inexperience of James, attempted every thing. I told Henry, that, though all theſe ſchemes ought to be treated only as chimerical, it would be proper, nevertheleſs, to be attentive to whatever paſſed in Poitou, Auvergne, Limoſin, Pays d'Aunis, in ſhort, through all Guienne, in which places they were capable of producing the ſame bad effects as though they had been true.

THE day after my audience, being the 23d of June, and a day on which his Britiſh majeſty conferred the honour of knighthood on ſeveral perſons, he ſent to acquaint me, that he would grant me a ſecond audience the day on which I myſelf had deſired it, being Wedneſday the 25th; that I ſhould be with him at two o'clock, and bring but few perſons with me, in order to prevent the inconveniences cauſed by great numbers, and, ſaid he, that I may confer with you alone with greater freedom. Upon this occaſion, I was accompanied from London to Greenwich by my lord Hume, who, in France, had had the honour of ſeeing and diſcourſing with his moſt Chriſtian majeſty. I took ſome refreſhment in the apartment wherein I was conducted to wait till I could be introduced to the king; and here I was accoſted by little Edmonds †, who made me a long diſcourſe, in which he complained, that he was not treated ſo well as his paſt ſervices, and his know-

† Edmonds had been agent and afterwards ambaſſador from Elizabeth to Henry IV. during the wars of the league; and he had really acquired a perfect knowledge of the affairs of France.

ledge

ledge of the affairs of France, deserved. The earl of Northumberland put an end to our conversation, by coming to require my appearance in the king's apartment.

Immediately upon my entrance this prince arose, and, having commanded that no one should follow him, he conducted me through several apartments into a little ordinary gallery, wherein we held our conference. I began it by thanking his majesty for having thus given me an opportunity to disclose myself to him, on the subject of my commission, without reserve, and without witnesses; "Not, said "I, that the king my master has sent me to require "any thing of your majesty, but only to be informed "of your intentions in regard to affairs wherein your "majesties may both be equally concerned; and that "the king my master may conform to them, as a "good brother." The king of England replied, that the manner in which he plainly saw the king of France and I acted, with respect to him, required that he should not conceal any thing from me; and that he would therefore discover to me his most important secrets. He then, in a few words, pretty justly described the present political affairs of Europe; "in "which, said he, it is necessary to preserve an equi-"librium between three of its powers," meaning the houses of Bourbon, Austria, and Steuart. He said, that of these three powers, the house of Austria and Spain, from the spirit of dominion with which she was possessed, was the only one who sought to make the balance incline in her favour; that a knowledge of this unjust design was the cause that the king of France and he, though in appearance in peace with that crown, were, however, really thought secretly at war with her; that Spain was not ignorant of it, but that she could not complain, she having herself set them the first example; to Henry by her combination with marechal Biron and the disaffected in France, by the succours she had

given the duke of Savoy when at war with his moſt Chriſtian majeſty, by the enterpriſe upon Geneva, finally, by ſeveral other proceedings of the like nature; to him, by inſtigating and encouraging the jeſuits and the Engliſh catholic faction. From hence it appears, that the affair of the jeſuit had gained but too much credit with James. But that all this could, by neither ſide, be conſidered as ſufficient cauſe for an open war, and, as they were upon equal terms, it would therefore be beſt to avoid it, by continuing, as before, ſecretly to favour the enemies of Spain, though with a reſolution to purſue more vigorous and effectual meaſures, in caſe Spain ſhould herſelf reſolve upon any open rupture.

I VERY highly applauded ſuch laudable ſentiments, and indeed they really deſerved it; nor could I have ſaid any thing further on the ſubject, had I not, at the ſame time, perceived in the perſon from whom they came a diſpoſition to peace, or rather to indolence and inaction, which in a manner contradicted his words, and ſeemed to tell me, that, having promiſed a little, he ſhould perform nothing. This obſervation induced me to tell his Britannic majeſty, that the plan of conduct which he had laid down to be purſued with Spain, was exactly conformable to the ſentiments of his moſt Chriſtian majeſty; and that Henry only feared it would be inſufficient to prevent their one day feeling the fatal effects of the reſentment of that crown, whoſe character, upon this occaſion, I endeavoured to paint to him in the moſt natural colours. I repreſented to James every thing which Spain had been accumulating for one hundred years paſt; the earldoms of Flanders and Burgundy, the kingdoms of Granada, Navarre, and Portugal, the empire of Germany, the ſtates of Naples and Milan, all the Indies, and, but for mere good fortune, France and England alſo, both theſe crowns owing their preſervation, next to the firmneſs of Elizabeth and Henry, only to the lucky

lucky incident of the revolt of the Low Countries; and I concluded, that as both James and Henry would one day be indiſpenſably obliged to enter into an open war with Spain, in order to ſap the foundation of ſo vaſt a dominion, it was therefore abſolutely neceſſary now to concert the proper meaſures for it, that no ſtep might be taken to the contrary; and that this, together with the means whereby the preſervation of the United Provinces might be proviſionally ſecured, was all that I had to deſire of his majeſty. "But, ſaid the king of England, what better aſſiſtance would you that the king of France and I ſhould give the Low Countries, than to comprehend them with us in a general treaty of partition and pacification between them and Spain, upon conditions of which we ſhall ourſelves be guarantees? whereby, ſhould Spain firſt fail in the obſervation of them, we ſhall then have juſt reaſon to take arms againſt her, and drive her entirely out of theſe provinces: and I conſent, added he, upon a ſuppoſition that this will be the caſe, immediately to determine with you, what means and what forces we ſhall employ for the execution of it." James was not ſenſible of all the objections to this partition-treaty, which he propoſed between Spain and the Low Countries; or if he was, he artfully endeavoured to avoid entering into any engagement with me. The council of Spain would not have failed to appear ſatisfied with what he propoſed, but during the delays which negociating this treaty would produce, eſpecially with a court whoſe dilatorineſs was one of the chief arts of her policy, Oſtend, which was reduced to extremity, would fall into the power of its enemy, and with it a part of Flanders, Holland and Zealand being ſeparated from it; and Spain would in the mean time ſtrengthen herſelf in what ſhe did poſſeſs, and would be preparing the means for ſucceeding more effectually in her deſign of ſubjecting the reſt of this ſtate.

I DESIRED his Britannic majesty to bestow some serious reflection upon the considerations which I had thus laid before him. He remained for some time in silence, and seemed deeply immersed in thought; after which, in a hesitating and irresolute voice, he said, that it must be confessed I was in the right; that the affair was of great consequence; that he had often thought of it; though his reflections had not as yet produced any effect; and that he had waited my coming, to determine him in his resolution. At this moment I penetrated into all which this prince refused to tell me; and I thought I ought not to hesitate attacking him in his inmost recesses: I therefore replied rather to his thoughts than his words, and said, that as often as this affair had been debated in his majesty's council, and as often as he had heard his ministers utter sentiments different from mine, his majesty might easily have been convinced, that they did it only from some motives of self-interest, because there was not the least room for doubt, that one single examination would demonstrate, as evidently as a million, that it was indispensably necessary to prevent the rest of the Low Countries from being subjected by Spain, because, were she to succeed in this, she might, with the same forces, fall very roughly, and without ceremony, upon France and England. Upon this occasion, without exposing these English counsellors so much as I could, by a discovery of part of their intrigues, I so far acquainted the king of England with them, as to make him sensible that I was not ignorant that they had endeavoured to make him turn those forces against France, which I would persuade him to employ against Spain.

JAMES entered of himself into the sentiments with which I wanted to inspire him, with respect to his council: he told me, that he was very far from being of the same opinion with some of his courtiers, in what concerned the antient pretensions of England upon France; that, besides that the present conjuncture

ture and political ſtate of affairs did not permit him to think ſeriouſly about them, he alſo conſidered theſe pretended rights as annulled by divine providence, which irreſiſtibly gives and takes away crowns; and by time, whoſe preſcription was more than centenary; which words he repeated ſeveral times: that this conſideration being of no weight with him, he could therefore previouſly aſſure me, that whatever his final reſolution might be, at leaſt he would not ſuffer the United Provinces, nor even Oſtend, to come under the dominion of the Spaniards: that for the preſent I ought not to require any thing farther of him, nor preſs him to a concluſion, till he had firſt conferred with two or three of his miniſters, whoſe knowledge, as well as honeſty, he was well convinced of; that beſides, from the reflections which I had ſuggeſted to him, he was now able to diſtinguiſh and reſiſt the voice of paſſion and prejudice: and laſtly, that he would in a ſhort time acquaint me with what might be farther neceſſary for me to know, in regard to his ſentiments and final reſolution.

I SHOULD have been very glad not to have concluded our conference on this head ſo ſoon, but James broke it off, by ſaying, that he ſhould finiſh the remainder of it another time, becauſe he wanted now to have ſome converſation with me concerning the duke of Bouillon. He informed me, that the deputies of the elector of Palatine had ſtrongly ſolicited him in favour of the duke; but that, not being perfectly well acquainted with the affair, he had refuſed to concern himſelf in it at all, through fear leſt he ſhould favour a rebel. He deſired me to relate to him all the circumſtances of it: which I accordingly did very ſuccinctly; ſo that he had the whole affair before him. James gave me his word, that however he might be ſolicited by the Palatine, he would never concern himſelf in it; and ſaid, he wiſhed others would meddle as little in the affairs of the Engliſh

catholics. I readily apprehended, by the manner in which he uttered these last words, that they carried with them a kind of reproach.

In order to understand what is here meant, it is necessary to be informed, that some time before the death of Elizabeth the partisans of Spain, having, as usual, the jesuits at their head, had raised disturbances in the three kingdoms of Great Britain. Tho' religion was their pretence, their real views were political, either because the king of Spain, as his flatterers had persuaded him, really believed his rights to the crown of England were so well founded, that after the death of the queen he might openly declare his pretensions, or because he sought to involve the successor of Elizabeth in such perplexities as might prevent his engaging in any thing else. The jesuits, upon this occasion, very imprudently, it should seem, had differed with the English catholic secular clergy: this was chiefly occasioned by their endeavouring to create a certain arch-priest †, which the English catholics would not admit of. The affair was brought before the Pope, who upon this occasion, for reasons of which I am ignorant, neither concurred with those jesuits, nor Spain, but, on the contrary, listened very favourably to the secular clergy, who had deputed three of their body to Rome, having a passport under the hand of Cecil himself: which is a proof that Elizabeth thought she ought to defend the seculars; and also, that she looked upon the others as her real enemies. Henry had been of the same opinion with Elizabeth, and the common interest had

† Cardinal D'Ossat, in his letter of the 28th of May, 1601, to M. de Villeroi, says, that at the suggestion of an English jesuit, whose name was father Personio (or Parsons) rector of the English college at Rome, and devoted to the king of Spain, if he was so to any, the Pope created in England a certain arch-priest, to whose authority all the ecclesiastics, and even all the other catholics of England, were to be subject. By this means, adds he, it was proposed to have the greater part of the catholics of England under the Pope's influence.

from

from the first determined him to support the English clergy at the court of Rome against the Spanish cabal.

FROM hence it was that the enemies of France had taken occasion to prejudice James against us †, by insinuating to him, that Henry had supported the English clergy only with design to gain them in his own interests, and that from the same views with Spain. It was not difficult for me to undeceive the king of England in this respect. I represented to him, that Henry having considered, that to prevent the whole body of the catholics of Britain from entering into the Spanish interests, was a point of the utmost consequence; he had therefore been indispensably obliged to appear in their favour upon several occasions; but that he had been so far from having had any thoughts of entering with them into any design prejudicial to his authority, that, on the contrary, his sole intention had been to oppose this common enemy; and that had the catholics departed in the least from their duty, or even appeared so to do, he would from that moment have abandoned them.

JAMES was so fully satisfied with this account, that he acquainted me with the regulations which he meditated in regard to the roman catholics of his kingdom; "from your information, said he, and "with the approbation of Henry." He had afterwards several opportunities of being convinced that I had not imposed on him, particularly by a letter which the Pope's nuncio wrote to him from Paris, relating to the English catholics. James answered

† The king of England cannot be considered as blameable for having taken umbrage against France upon that account. The same cardinal gives us to understand, that the political views of the Spanish party were by this means to unite the Pope, the king of France, the king of Spain, and the English catholics, whereby to place a catholic king upon the throne of England. But it is likewise true, that Henry IV. was not only ignorant of this design, but also that he had acquiesced with Elizabeth in quite different purposes. This fact is related in the Septennary, an. 1604.

this letter in a more obliging manner than was usual with the court of London to letters received from the court of Rome; and being perhaps determined by my reasons, he not only entered into the same views in regard to this affair which good policy had suggested to Henry, but it also seemed probable, that to secure the English catholic party, he would chuse rather to have recourse to the pope and his ministers, than to any foreign prince. The pope, on his side, did not shew himself insensible of this preference †: one Colvil having dedicated a book to him which he had wrote against that prince, when only king of Scotland, his holiness would neither receive the work, nor permit the author to stay in Rome. Henry had acquainted me with this circumstance, that I might, if I thought proper, relate it to the king of England; and Henry had been informed of it in the letters which my brother wrote to him from Rome.

Upon my departure, at the conclusion of this my second audience, I was informed that this prince was to set out the Monday following to meet the queen; and I judged, that the audience which his majesty promised to grant me on Sunday the 29th, would, on this account, probably be the last I should obtain; and, as I was afraid I should not be able to conclude my negotiation in one more, I determined to demand another of him before that on Sunday. James replied, that he could not grant this request, all his time being absolutely engaged till Sunday; but that he would send his ministers on Friday the 27th, to confer with me and prepare matters.

†. We must believe either his holiness had no concern in the political design which I mentioned in the preceding note, as related by cardinal d'Ossat; or that, perceiving it had miscarried, he had conceived that of gaining, if it were possible, the king of England, who had at first shewn himself so favourably disposed to the catholics, that it was reported he would become so himself; and that he had only pretended to be of the reformed religion, in order to ascend the throne without opposition.

Accord-

ACCORDINGLY, on Friday, at three o'clock in the afternoon, there came to me admiral Howard, the earls of Northumberland and Mar, lord Mountjoy, lieutenant-general in Ireland, and the secretary Cecil, who was the speaker. After the first compliments were over, Cecil told me, that the king of England thought he could not better shew his most Christian majesty how sensible he was, both of the uprightness of his intentions, and his ability in the conduct of great affairs, than by wholly relying upon him in all that concerned the relief of Ostend and the support of the States.

I WAS immediately sensible of this secretrary's artifice, and the design of it, in thus construing what I had said to the king of England in a manner different to my real meaning. I replied, that indeed the king my master would have been extremely glad to have had some measures taken in Europe, to prevent the invasions of Flanders by Spain; but that he was so far from having sent me to give law to his Britannic majesty, that he did not himself know what conduct to pursue with regard to the affairs of those provinces, with the true state of which he was not even well acquainted; that it was therefore vain to think of penetrating into what Henry might have determined in his mind as to the States, because, in reality, he had not as yet determined on any thing; that nothing farther could be concluded from what I had said to his Britannic majesty, than that when he should be well disposed towards them, I could engage that the dispositions of his most Christian majesty would not be contrary to his; and, in a word, that I was come about no other design, than to be informed of the intentions of the king and parliament of England.

CECIL replied, that he had no surreptitious design upon me by what he had said, but only to hear my sentiments of the present situation of affairs, and to know whether any expedient had been thought on

in the council of France, to obviate the difficulties which at London this enterprise seemed to be so full of, that it appeared impossible to be executed. He confessed, in setting forth these pretended difficulties, that a pacific agreement between Spain and the Low Countries would, in the present situation of affairs, occasion the loss of these provinces. Then reasoning from the false conclusion, that there was no medium between such an agreement and an open war with Spain, he endeavoured to shew, that the war would be still less agreeable than the peace, to England, which was already exhausted, though at a time too when great expences were requisite in consequence of the coronation: and he concluded yet more peremptorily than before, that France must alone be engaged in the execution of her designs. He added, indeed, that England might in a year be able to second them. The riches and power of France were also a subject which did not escape him. Finally, he attempted, with all the address he was master of, to make me declare, that the king of France, being resolved to make the business of the States his own, desired no other favour of England than that of a neutrality, to which, no doubt, he would give his consent with joy.

I GAVE Cecil to understand, by smiling at his last words, that he had laid this snare for me in vain; and I told him, that, without seriously replying to propositions which I plainly perceived he had made only to give me an occasion of speaking, it was sufficient for me to desire him to take notice of one thing, which he ought to know as well as myself, and this was, that England, by suffering France to act alone for some time before she joined her, instead of laying the foundation of alliance with her, would thereby rather lay the foundation of a rupture, because one would expect to enjoy the conquests which she might make during this time, and the other would doubtless require to partake of them. I addressed myself per-

perſonally to Cecil, and told him, that, nevertheleſs, this would not prevent my agreeing with him, in caſe his propoſal for an union with France within a year had been ſincere on his part, becauſe the king of France would rather chuſe to defer the declaration of war againſt Spain, which he mentioned, till this time, an open war being altogether as inconvenient to France, in the preſent ſituation of her affairs, as it was to England.

Upon this occaſion, I thought I ought again to repeat, and in term the moſt explicit, that I was not come to propoſe to the Engliſh council a declaration of war from the two kings of France and England againſt Spain; but only to repreſent, that good policy required them not to ſuffer the United Provinces to be oppreſſed for want of ſuccours, which might be given them without diſturbing the quiet of the reſt of Europe; and to confer with his Britannic majeſty upon the nature of theſe ſuccours, and the other ſteps to be taken, both at preſent and in future, in favour of the Flemiſh. Upon this, the king's counſellors thanked me for the ſincerity with which I had ſpoken; and Cecil, having nothing farther to reply, told me, that he would go and confer with his majeſty hereupon, that then he would converſe with the deputies of the States about it, and, if I deſired it, even in my preſence, which I did not think proper to oppoſe: having ſaid this we ſeparated.

Count d'Aremberg, having long deferred from time to time demanding his audience, ſent at laſt to deſire the king of England would diſpenſe with it entirely, on account of his indiſpoſition, and that he would only ſend one of his counſellors to confer with him. James did not appear ſatisfied with this procedure; he however granted him what he deſired, and Cecil was the perſon charged with this commiſſion. Cecil, who was perfectly well acquainted with the reports current at that time concerning himſelf,

ſelf, being deſirous to avoid giving any new cauſe to vilify him upon this occaſion, ſought to be excuſed, and deſired that he might, at leaſt, have an adjunct, that is, a witneſs of his words and actions, though he affected not to receive him in that quality. This fact alone unanſwerably proves, that he was far from enjoying that favour which he was deſirous the public ſhould believe he abſolutely poſſeſſed. Kintore, a Scotchman, was the perſon aſſociated with him.

D'AREMBERG confined himſelf wholly to compliment, and to the moſt general terms: when preſſed to come to particulars, he replied, that he was a ſoldier, and had no ſkill in negotiation; that he was come only to hear what the king of England had to ſay to him, and that, after him, his maſter would ſend a man of buſineſs. Theſe words were repeated and ſpread throughout London, with all the ridicule and contempt they deſerved: indeed no ambaſſador was perhaps ever before guilty of ſo great an imprudence, nor can one but with difficulty believe it of a people ſo acute as the Spaniards; it was of great diſſervice to them in the Engliſh council, and brought part of thoſe who compoſed it to favour me; and if the deſigns of Spain were not hereby entirely fruſtrated, which they might have been, it was becauſe this aukward behaviour was repaired by the addreſs of the other partiſans of this crown, having Cecil himſelf at their head, notwithſtanding his endeavours to make the contrary be believed; it was even entirely forgot, when it was ſaid that the Spaniſh ambaſſador, who began to be no longer expected, would ſoon arrive. Cecil, no doubt, waited his arrival, to begin the diſſipation he was preparing for my projects, and the other counſellors appeared diſpoſed to fall into their former irreſolution. I was even informed from good hands, that it not being doubted, but this ambaſſador would make propoſals to his Britannic majeſty, accompanied by irreſiſtible offers,

part

part of these counsellors had begun to draw up an account of the debts of France and the States to England, whereby from the sums contained in this account on one side, and the treasures of Spain disbursed in London on the other, nothing might be proof against them.

WHAT was most remarkable in my reception on Sunday the 29th of June, was, that all the gentlemen of my retinue had the honour of being treated with a dinner by his majesty, and I had that of being admitted to his own table. In pursuance of his majesty's directions, I arrived at Greenwich about ten o'clock in the morning, and was present with him at divine service, in which there was a sermon: he said nothing particular to me from the time of my arrival to our setting down to table; the conversation turned almost entirely upon the chace and the weather: the heat was excessive, and much more violent than was usual at London in this month. There were only Beaumont and myself who sat with James at table, where I was not a little surprised to behold that he was always served on the knee: a surtout, in form of a pyramid, was placed in the middle of the table, which contained most costly vessels, and was even enriched with diamonds.

THE conversation continued the same as before, during great part of the entertainment: but an opportunity offering for the king to speak of the late queen of England, he did it, and, to my great regret, with some sort of contempt; he even went so far as to say, that, in Scotland, long before the death of that princess, he had directed her whole council, and governed all her ministers, by whom he had been better served and obeyed than herself. He then called for some wine, his custom being never to mix water with it, and holding the glass in his hand towards Beaumont and me, he drank to the health of the king, the queen, and the royal family of France. I returned him his health, and that too without

without forgetting his children. He inclined himself to my ear when he heard me name them, and told me softly, that the next health he would drink should be, to the double union which he meditated between the royal houses. He had never till now said a single word to me about this; and I thought the opportunity which he had thus taken for it was not extremely well chosen. I failed not, however, to receive the proposal with all possible marks of joy, and replied softly, that I was certain Henry would not hesitate in his choice between his good brother and ally, and the king of Spain, who had before applied to him upon the same subject. James, surprized at what I told him, informed me in his turn, that Spain had made him the same offers of the Infanta for his son, as she had to France for the Dauphin. The king of England appeared to me to be still in the sentiments in which I had left him in our last conference; though he gave me no opportunity of conversing with him in private. He told me, indeed, before all who were present, that he approved every thing that had been done in the last conference between the counsellors and me: that he would not suffer the States to be overwhelmed; and that the next day, the manner in which succours were to be granted them should be settled. For this purpose, he gave orders that his counsellors should, the next day in the afternoon, repair to London, there to conclude the affair with me. I thought these words sufficiently authorised me immediately to put into the hands of his Britannic majesty the form of a treaty, which I had drawn up and brought with me; and this I accordingly did in the presence of his ministers. Having found means, in the course of the conversation, to drop some few complaints of the piracies of the English upon the French, the king said, that this happened contrary to his intentions; and he was even angry with the English admiral, who appeared himself inclined to vindicate what had been done.

At

At last, he quitted the company to go to bed, where he usually passed part of the afternoon, and sometimes even the whole of it.

THE journey which James was to have made having been prevented or deferred, I hope I should without difficulty, be able to find an opportunity of telling him what I had yet to say; and this gave me some consolation for having done so little this day. For notwithstanding what has here been said of resolutions and succours in support of the States, I was not ignorant that affairs were not as yet brought to the issue which I desired; for the king of England still referred me, for the conclusion of them, to the same persons as before; and these, I very well knew, were not disposed in my favour: nor did Barnevelt and the deputies from hence draw a more happy presage, for they were very far from considering themselves as having succeeded in their offensive and defensive alliance with France and England with which they had sometimes flattered themselves. They resolved to make a final effort with me, that they might at least secure France in their interests.

FOR this purpose Barnevelt repaired to me before any of the others, and after having made me acquainted with his apprehensions in regard to the present situation of affairs, and the effects of the arrival of the Spanish ambassador, which was always said to be very near, he told me, that the Hollanders, being reduced to the lowest ebb of despair, would abandon every thing, and seek an asylum out of their provinces. Barnevelt observed, from my reply, that I was not the dupe of his exaggerations: I told him, that it was the English council, and not I, which was to be persuaded; because I was sufficiently convinced the States were really in a perplexed situation. He endeavoured to prove to me, that if nothing could be obtained of the king of England, good policy required that France should openly and alone espouse the cause of the United Provinces, before their

strength

ſtrength and ſpirits were entirely ſpent and exhauſted. I replied, that he required of me what was not in my power, becauſe I was come to London only, if it were poſſible, to enter into an aſſociation with the Engliſh, and in caſe they refuſed this, to know their reaſons.

After this, we had ſome diſcourſe about the towns deſtined for cautionaries. Barnevelt informed me, that Cecil in a conference with Caron, one of the Flemiſh deputies, had given him to underſtand, that England, being reſolved to maintain peace with Spain, would require Holland to make the ceſſion of thoſe places as a ſecurity; and in conſequence of this ceſſion, Cecil only promiſed him, that theſe towns ſhould be preſerved in a ſtrict neutrality, till the payment of the States debt. Barnevelt, who perceived that this affair appeared to me as intereſting as it really was, acquainted me, though with all the reſerve which ought to be obſerved by a man entruſted upon oath with the ſecrets of his council, that the States had put things in ſuch a train, that the council of London would have many difficulties to remove before it could ſee itſelf in poſſeſſion of thoſe places. But from hence he alſo inferred, in order to gain his point with me, that as the conſequence of this would probably be a war between England and the United Provinces, it was therefore for this reaſon that he preſſed me immediately to join the forces of France with theirs, without which there would be no equality between the parties. I confeſſed to Barnevelt, that I could not blame the reſolution of his maſters; but that the king of France, upon this occaſion, could only lament their ſituation, not being in a condition to ſupport them with open force againſt Spain and England together.

In the afternoon, all the Flemiſh deputies came in a body to aſſiſt in the conference; and ſoon after them the Engliſh counſellors, appointed by his Britannic majeſty, alſo arrived. Cecil being, as uſual, the

the ſpeaker for all of them, began by ſaying directly, that the king of England was really in the intereſts of the ſtates. And turning to me, he aſked me, whether this was not what I deſired, and the real deſign of my commiſſion? I concealed what I did but too plainly perceive, from this blunt haſty procedure of the ſecretary; and inſtead of giving him a direct anſwer, I addreſſed myſelf to the deputies, and told them, that two great kings deſigning to intereſt themſelves in their affairs, they ought therefore juſtly to repreſent the ſtate of them, that from a full and perfect knowledge of their neceſſity, the ſuccours which they wanted might be aſcertained. Barnevelt, as uſual, drew a picture of the miſeries to which Spain had reduced them; and theſe he deſcribed in as lively and affecting a manner as he poſſibly could. But to come more immediately to the buſineſs, he ſaid, it was neceſſary that the Spaniards ſhould be driven entirely out of Flanders; and that the States were in hopes of being able to ſucceed in this in the ſpace of a year, by means which he deduced in the following manner: That the whole force of the United-Provinces amounted to above twelve or fifteen thouſand infantry, not including the garriſons, and three thouſand cavalry, beſides fifty ſhips actually in a condition to ſerve, with artillery and ammunition in proportion; that therefore nothing more was neceſſary, than for the two kings to double theſe forces, by furniſhing an equal number of each as above mentioned.

I WAS apprehenſive theſe propoſitions would not be received very favourably; and that I might not appear to authoriſe the deputies in demands which were really too great, I told Barnevelt, that he ſhould have been more careful only to aſk what could be granted. I then aſked Cecil, in a manner ſomewhat peremptory, to acquaint me what were the real intentions of his maſter, in regard to what was here promiſed to him. Cecil replied, that his Britannic

tannic majesty would have been glad to have maintained himself in a solid and sincere peace with all his neighbours; that, as far as could be judged from the state of France, and from mere appearances, his most Christian majesty was probably of the same sentiments. Nevertheless, that from the remonstrances which I had made to the king of England, this prince was determined to pursue the medium between his own desires and those of the States, that is, he would consent privately to assist the United-Provinces: that perhaps a time might come when more could be done for them, but that at present they must expect nothing farther.

The deputies, not doubting but this resolution was really fixed, withdrew to confer among themselves upon what had been said by Cecil, who in the mean time continuing his discourse, said, that indeed the king of England was very willing to assist the Sates, but that he had no desire to ruin himself for them. He avoided entering upon any particulars, in regard to the nature of these pretended succours, that he might not be afterwards answerable for any promises or positive engagements; but he said, that in case Spain should carry her resentment so far as personally to attack the two kings, protectors of the liberty of Flanders, in order to make all things equal on both sides, France must contribute eight thousand infantry and two thousand cavalry, and England one half of that number; and the same rule might be observed in regard to the squadrons which it would be necessary to have upon the coast of Spain, and in the Indies; and he farther declared, that England had no fund to defray the expences of these forces, except the money owing from France, which was to be paid in two years; but that the king of England would willingly sacrifice it for the service of the common cause.

I was extremely dissatisfied at the English secretary's thus endeavouring to avoid coming to any positive

positive agreement, by purposely evading the state of the question, and by raising only anticipated difficulties; but I concealed my indignation as well as I could, and replied, that this was not a subject to be talked of in so vague a manner; that it was above all things necessary, without an equivocation, absolutely to determine what should be done in favour of the United-Provinces, and for the relief of Ostend; that, after this, whether the council of his British majesty might be inclined to a war, or whether it might be forced into one by Spain, there would be many other considerable matters to discuss, in regard to the following suppositions; first, that this crown should attack only one of the two kings, or should attack them both; secondly, that the two kings should declare themselves the aggressors; and, lastly, that they should endeavour to make conquests upon the Spaniards in the Low-Countries.

To make Cecil yet more sensible that he scarce entered at all into the affair, I represented to him, that, in case of the rupture with Spain, which he mentioned, to render the superiority in favour of the two kings, that of France, besides twenty thousand men which he would have in Flanders, would also be indispensably obliged to have the same number upon the frontiers of Guienne, Languedoc, Provence, Dauphiny, and Bresse, not to mention the squadrons of gallies which he must also have to secure the Mediterranean; that it was necessary even now to determine these matters, and to prevent being exposed to a thousand perplexing discussions, sufficient to destroy the harmony between the allied princes.

Then replying more particularly to what Cecil had said, I told him, I could not conceive for what reasons he was for casting upon the king of France the whole or greatest part of the expence of a war, in which Henry would be only equally concerned with the king of England; that if by such means the

the Britiſh council ſought to diſtreſs Henry, it but ill underſtood its intereſts, nor conſidered that, though an equality of expences ſhould be ſtipulated, France would certainly have other expences to defray, perhaps even greater than theſe: ſuch were thoſe for the defence of her coaſts and frontiers, which, by diverting part of the enemy's forces, would not be leſs ſerviceable to England than to France. I added, that, for all theſe reaſons, I thought the Engliſh council took a very improper time to demand the payment of the ſum lent to France; that Henry was ſo far from expecting any ſuch matter, that he had given me no orders about it; that I only knew, from the place which I filled in the council of finances, that his intention was to diſcharge it by annual payments, as had been agreed with the late queen; and that within the current year he propoſed to pay two hundred thouſand livres; but again, that the Britiſh council took a very wrong method to obtain the payment of this debt, by ſhewing, from their unreaſonable difficulties and ſuſpicions, that their ſole view was more and more to exhauſt France; which conduct was very malignant, and abſolutely oppoſite to that of Henry, who, in all his actions, manifeſted nothing but honeſty and good faith, and laboured only for the public good.

What I ſaid made not the impreſſion upon my hearers which I deſired; on the contrary, the Engliſh took fire, and proteſted, if any thing farther was inſiſted on, they would abandon the States entirely. Cecil more eſpecially, in this conference, completed his making himſelf known to me for what he really was; he made uſe only of double expreſſions, vague propoſals, and falſe meanings, being perfectly ſenſible that reaſon was not on his ſide. The moderation and ſincerity which I oppoſed to his ill deſigning ſubtilties, forced him into contradictions, which, when by a ſingle word I made him feel the ridiculouſneſs of what he ſaid, put him into con-

confusion. Sometimes thinking to intimidate me, he magnified the forces of England; sometimes he endeavoured to shew the advantages to England of the pretended offers of Spain; he watched opportunities to wrest any words which might drop from me of the deputies to his advantage, and even maliciously supposed that we had said things which we never thought of; he proceeded so far, as to endeavour to raise discord between me and the deputies, by casting upon me the refusal of openly assisting the States: he, and his collegues by his direction, demanded that France should immediately pay to England, in part of what she owed, forty or fifty thousand pounds sterling; and he told the deputies, that these sums should be employed for the relief of their most pressing necessities, and, upon my refusal, they all said it could be imputed only to me, because, said they, all the money in France was in my disposal. If all the merit of those we usually call able politicians consists in thus endeavouring to ensnare the open and undesigning, and to make these bear the blame of their wickedness, while they at the same time enjoy all the benefits of it, a politician is then truly a very despicable thing. What piqued me the most was to see that these ministers, who were here only to set forth the intentions of the king, impudently substituted their own instead of them; for I knew well, and was firmly persuaded, from the manner in which this prince had talked to them in my presence, that he had given them quite contrary commands.

The deputies, who had returned, and were present during this, again retired, greatly dissatisfied no doubt, and in more perplexity than before; whereupon Cecil again changed his battery: he said, that since the king of France could not enter into a war but in conjunction with England, the latter could not do it, unless her expences therein were defrayed by France and the States; which neither of them being really able to do, the best conduct therefore which

which the two kings could purſue, would be to continue to live in friendſhip, but without intermeddling with any foreign diſputes whatſoever. This, probably, was what the ſecretary really propoſed; and, notwithſtanding the length and frequency of his diſcourſes, was all he had ever uttered with ſincerity.

As I did not think proper to make any reply to this, the Engliſh, believing perhaps that they had gained their point with me, ſaid, they would relate to the king every thing which had paſſed in the conference, and would demand an audience from him for me, wherein all things ſhould be expeditiouſly ſettled on this footing, and this audience would probably be my laſt, and that wherein I ſhould take my leave, becauſe, after this, nothing more would remain to be done. If I kept ſilence upon this occaſion, moſt certainly it was not becauſe I acquieſced in what they ſaid; on the contrary, the manner in which they had again expoſed themſelves, and as it were confeſſed themſelves to be liars and impoſtors, had inſpired me with the utmoſt contempt for them; but I judged, that expoſtulation or paſſion would be ſo far from making them quit a reſolution which they had concerted together, that perhaps it might rather tend to promote a rupture, whereas, as matters were at preſent ſituated, friendſhip at leaſt ſubſiſted between the two kings, and as this friendſhip might be more ſtrongly cemented by a double marriage (which was publicly talked of) ſome more favourable opportunity might probably hereafter occur. However, I did not abſolutely deſpair of the ſucceſs of my commiſſion, becauſe I thought I perceived the king had no concern in the deſigns which his counſellors thus endeavoured to put in execution.

To come at a certainty in reſpect to this, was what I propoſed in my third audience, for I do not conſider as ſuch my reception on Sunday. Cecil had demanded it for me from the king, and this prince

sent Erskine to tell me, that it should be on the day after the conference here related, and that I should bring but few of my retinue with me, because he wanted to discourse with me in particular; and this was further confirmed to me by a Scotch lord, who was extremely intimate with my friend the earl of Mar. The lords, Hume and Seaford about noon came to accompany me from London, and, upon my landing at Greenwich, I was received by the earl of Derby, who conducted me into the king's apartment. I had with me only four gentlemen and two secretaries.

THE king of England took me by the hand, and, commanding that none should follow him, he led me through his cabinet into his gallery, the door of which he also secured. He embraced me twice, with expressions that shewed how greatly he was satisfied with the king of France and me, and how sensible he was of his most Christian majesty's having sent him the man who, of all his kingdom, was most necessary to him; he insisted, that making use of the present opportunity, I should speak to him without any reserve. This moment therefore seemed favourable to me, to complain to him of his ministers; and, after the usual complimentary thanks, I accordingly told him, that it was much more advantageous to me in all respects to confer with him than his counsellors, who, after having very ill executed his orders in the last conference, had also, without doubt, given him a false account of what had passed between them and me and the Flemish deputies; and I promised, if he would give me leave, to give him a sincere and just relation of every thing.

THE king approving my proposal, I acquainted him with all that had passed between us the preceding evening; I insisted more especially upon the demand to discharge the debt owing to England, and on the aspersion upon his most Christian majesty and me, with which it had been accompanied; I added,

that

that if after having filled my letters to Henry only with elogies on the generosity, the prudence, and the perfect friendship of the prince to whom I had the honour of speaking, and this because he himself had authorised me to do it, both by his words and actions, I should be obliged, on a sudden, to write to him in a quite contrary style, without having any reason to alledge for it, other than difficulties entirely frivolous, the king my master could not but think I had acted the part of a flattering, and perhaps an unfaithful minister, to the interests with which he had intrusted me; and it would besides, be considered as the effect of a determined friendship, with Spain, from whence, perhaps, a rupture might ensue between the two kings, whose interest as well as inclination required their continuing in a constant state of union. I thought I ought not to hesitate upon informing the king of England, that there were several of those whom he admitted into his council who were neither well disposed in themselves, nor well affected to his person; that, without naming them to him, he ought to consider as such all those who appeared so little solicitous for his glory, and the honour of his crown, as to advise him, under the name of an ally, to render himself the slave of Spain; that he would do well to be, in some degree, diffident of such persons whose characters he was not perfectly well acquainted with, and to be guided rather by his own wisdom, than the representations of his ministers.

It was no difficult matter to inspire the king of England with a diffidence of his ministers, for he was naturally but too much inclined to it. The change which I perceived in his countenance when he heard my last words, his gesture, and some expressions that escaped him, convinced me my observations was just; I even thought I plainly perceived, that either from an effect of this diffidence, or from the praises I lavished on him, this prince was at last

in

in the moſt favourable diſpoſition I could wiſh him; I therefore embraced this opportunity to introduce in our converſation ſome general hints of a project, by which, with the aſſiſtance of his Britannic majeſty, the tranquility of all Europe might be ſecured. Having ſaid this, I remained ſilent, as though I had been apprehenſive of fatiguing him by too long a diſcourſe: but I knew the curioſity of James would be excited by the little I had ſaid; accordingly he replied, that my diſcourſe had not appeared tedious to him, but that it would be proper to know what o'clock it was. He went out, and aſked ſome of his courtiers whom he found at the end of the gallery, and they telling him that it was not three o'clock, "Well, Sir, ſaid the king to me, returning, I will "break off the party for the chace which I had "made for this day, that I may hear you to the end; "and this employment will, I am perſuaded, be of "more ſervice to me than the other."

THE reaſon that induced me to hazard a ſtep of ſuch conſequence, as that of communicating to king James the great deſign upon Spain and all Europe, which had been concerted between Henry and Elizabeth, was, that being perſuaded this prince was already of himſelf inclined to the alliance with France, he only wanted to be determined in this reſolution from ſome great and noble motive; and becauſe, on the other ſide, his miniſters conſtantly brought him back to their manner of thinking, apparently becauſe he could not ſupport himſelf againſt them, from a perſuaſion that they oppoſed his ſentiments only through ignorance of them. However, this did not prevent my taking the following precaution, which I judged to be very neceſſary.

I THEREFORE reſumed the diſcourſe, and told him, that, without doubt he had ſometimes thought, and with good reaſon, that a man in poſſeſſion of the places and honours with which I was known to be inveſted, never quitted his poſt but for a very urgent

occasion; that this was my case; that though my commission was only to require an union between France and England, yet nevertheless, from the opinion I had conceived, which fame had not been silent in reporting, of his genius and abilities, I had resolved, before I quitted the kingdom, to discourse with his Britannic majesty on something infinitely more considerable; but that what I had to acquaint him with was of such a nature, that I could not reveal it to him without exposing myself to ruin, unless he would engage by the most solemn oath to keep it a secret. James, who listened to me with a profound attention, hesitated however at taking the oath which I required; and, to render it unnecessary, he endeavoured himself to discover what it was of so interesting a nature which I had to communicate to him. But finding my answers to the different questions which he successively asked me gave him not the least light into the affair, he satisfied me at last by the most sacred and solemn of all oaths, I mean that of the holy sacrament.

THOUGH I had now nothing to fear from his indiscretion, yet, however, I carefully weighed all my words; and beginning with an article, in which I knew the king of England was most interested, I mean religion, I told him, that however I might appear to him engaged in worldly honours and affairs, and how indifferent soever he might perhaps have supposed me to be in matters of religion, yet it was no less certain that I was attached to mine, even so much as to prefer it to my family, fortune, country, and even king, that I had neglected nothing which might incline the king my master to establish it in France upon solid foundations, being under apprehensions lest it might one day be overwhelmed by so powerful a faction as that of an union with the Emperor, Spain, the archbishop-elector princes of Germany, and so many [illegible] its suppression;

preſſion; that my ſucceſs hitherto had been tolerable; but that perhaps I was indebted for it only to junctures purely political, which had engaged Henry in a party oppoſite to the houſe of Auſtria. That becauſe theſe circumſtances might change, or becauſe I, who was the only perſon that would uſe any endeavours to make Henry continue firm in this political plan, might loſe my place and his favour, I did not ſee how the king of France could reſiſt a party, which both his religion, and the example of others, would call upon him to embrace. That this conſideration had long inſpired me with the thoughts of finding a perſon for the execution of this deſign, who by his rank and power would be more proper than me to accompliſh it, and fix Henry in his ſentiments. That having found all that I had ſought for in the prince to whom I had the honour of ſpeaking, my choice had not been difficult to fix. In a word, that it depended only upon himſelf to immortalize his memory, and become the arbitrator of the fate of Europe, by a deſign to which he would always appear to have put the finiſhing hand, though he might not be more concerned in the execution than his moſt Chriſtian majeſty.

THERE remained only to explain to him the nature of this deſign, of which at firſt I gave nothing farther than a general idea, under the notion of a project for an aſſociation of all the princes and ſtates in Europe, whoſe intereſt it was to diminiſh the power of the houſe of Auſtria, the foundation of which ſhould be an offenſive and defenſive alliance between France, England, and Holland, cemented by the cloſeſt union of the two royal houſes of Bourbon and Stuart. I repreſented this aſſociation in a light which ſhewed it might be very eaſily formed. There was not the leaſt difficulty in regard to Denmark, Sweden, in a word, all the proteſtant princes and ſtates; and it might be rendered ſufficiently advantageous to engage in it the catholic princes alſo:

for example, the turbulent and ambitious disposition of the duke of Savoy might be soothed with hopes of obtaining the title of king; and the princes of Germany, with promises to distribute among them those parts of it which the house of Austria possessed, as Bohemia, Austria, Hungary, Moravia, Silesia, &c. and to re-establish their antient privileges: even the pope himself might be gained, by granting him the property of those countries of which he only possessed the feodality. In regard to the king of France, though I endeavoured to persuade James that he had hitherto had no concern in this project, which I pretended was entirely of my own forming; I, however, said, that when I should have communicated it to him, I could safely engage he would have no thoughts, either of retaining any conquests which might be made, or of being recompensed for them; though, according to all appearances, the greatest part of the burthen would fall upon him, as well in the expences necessary for the carrying on the enterprise, as his own personal services. I imagined it was most proper to give the affair this turn in regard to Henry, that he might not be under too absolute an obligation.

The king of England immediately started some objections, upon the difficulty of uniting so many different princes so differently disposed; the same nearly which Henry had made when we had last discoursed upon it at Montglat, upon his return from Metz: though from the slight sketch which I had given him of the design, he, however, appeared highly to approve it, and expressed a desire of being more circumstantially informed of it. In conformity with which desire, the following is the substance of what I said to his Britannic majesty.

Europe is divided into two factions, which are not so justly distinguished by their different religions, because the catholics and protestants are confounded together in almost all places, as they are by their po-

litical intereſts; the firſt is compoſed of the pope, the Emperor, Spain, Spaniſh Flanders, part of the princes and towns of Germany and Switzerland, Savoy, the catholic ſtates of Italy, which are Florence, Ferrara, Mantua, Modena, Parma, Genoa, Lucca, &c. Herein likewiſe muſt be compriſed, the catholics diſperſed in other parts of Europe, at the head of which may be placed the turbulent order of Jeſuits, whoſe views, no doubt, are to ſubject every thing to the Spaniſh monarchy. The ſecond includes the kings of France, England, Scotland, Ireland, Denmark, and Sweden; the republic of Venice, the United-Provinces, and the other part of the princes and towns of Germany and Switzerland: I do not take in Poland, Pruſſia, Livonia, Muſcovy, and Tranſilvania, though theſe countries are ſubject to the chriſtian religion, becauſe the wars in which they are almoſt continually engaged with the Turks and Tartars, render them in ſome manner foreign in regard to thoſe of the weſtern part of Europe.

WERE the power to be eſtimated in proportion to the pomp of titles, the extent of territories, and the number of inhabitants, it appears, on the ſlighteſt glance, not very favourable to the ſecond of theſe factions, and the ſuperiority would apparently be determined in favour of the firſt: nevertheleſs, nothing is more erroneous than ſuch an opinion, which may thus be proved; Spain, which muſt here be named firſt of her faction (though from rank and dignity ſhe is only the third) becauſe ſhe is in reality the ſoul of it; Spain, I ſay, including her dominions in the Eaſt and Weſt-Indies, does indeed poſſeſs an extent of territory as large as Turky and Perſia together. But if it be true (and that it is ſo cannot be doubted) that the new world, in recompence of its gold and other riches, deprives Spain both of her ſhips and inhabitants, this immenſe extent of territory, inſtead of being ſerviceable, is burdenſome.

And if we consider the other powers of this party, we shall every where find reason to diminish our ordinary ideas. The pope seems firmly attached to Spain; and, surrounded as he is on all sides by this formidable power, and having no reason to expect succours from any of the other catholic princes, it is, no doubt, his interest to be so. But as he does, in fact, consider his situation as but little different from real servitude; and as he is not ignorant that Spain and the jesuits only make a vain appearance of supporting his authority, it may, doubtless, be concluded, he only wants an opportunity to free himself from the Spanish yoke, and that he would readily embrace a party which should offer to render him their service, without the running any great risk; and Spain has in reality this opinion of him.

In regard to the emperor, he has nothing in common with Spain except his name, which seems only to serve to encrease the jealousies and quarrels which so frequently arise between these two branches of Austrian power. besides, what is his power? it consists merely in his title. Hungary, Bohemia, Austria, and other neighbouring countries, are little better than empty names. Exposed as he is, on one side, to incursions of the formidable armies of the grand signior; liable, on the other side, to see the territories under his dominion tear themselves in pieces, by the multiplicity and diversity of the religions which they contain; under continual apprehensions also, lest the electoral princes should rise and make an attempt to regain their ancient privileges Indeed the present emperor, all things justly considered, might perhaps be classed among the most inconsiderable of the European powers: besides, this Austrian branch appears to me so destitute of good subjects, that if it hath not soon a prince, either brave or wise enough to unite the different members of which Germany is composed, it will have every thing to fear from the princes of its circles, whose only aim it is, to get their

their liberty, in religion and election, reſtored to them. I do not except even the elector of Saxony, though he appears the moſt ſincerely attached to the emperor, as to him of whom he holds his principality, becauſe it is evident his religion muſt, ſooner or later, ſet him at variance with his benefactor. But ſuppoſing the emperor to receive all the returns of gratitude which he can expect from this elector, this will amount to nothing, or but very little, ſo long as he ſhall be under apprehenſions from the branch of John-Frederic, whom he has deprived of this electorate.

THUS, from a thorough examination of all particulars, it appears, that almoſt all the powers on which Spain ſeems to depend for aid, are either but little attached to her, or capable of doing her little ſervice. No one is ignorant, that the general view of the princes and cities both of Germany and Switzerland is to deliver themſelves from the dominion of the emperor, and even to aggrandiſe themſelves at his expence. Nor has he any greater dependence on the eccleſiaſtical princes, than on the others. A foreign emperor is what they moſt wiſh, provided he is not a proteſtant. Nothing could give the archdukes a greater pleaſure, as much Spaniards as they are, than a regulation, by which they ſhould, in Flanders, become ſovereigns independent of Spain, weary at length of being only her ſervants. It is the fear of France alone that binds the duke of Savoy to the Spaniards; for he naturally hates them, and has never forgiven the king of Spain, for doing ſo much leſs for the daughter which he beſtowed upon him, than for her younger ſiſter. As to Italy, it need only be obſerved, that it will be obliged to acquieſce in the will of the ſtronger party.

IT is therefore certain, that the ſecond of the factions here deſcribed has nothing to fear, provided it underſtands its own intereſts well enough to continue in a conſtant ſtate of union. Now it is alſo

certain, that in this ſcheme theſe ſo natural motives to diſunion do not occur; and that all of them, even that cauſed by the difference of religion, which in ſome ſort is the only one, ought to give place to the hatred againſt Spain, which is the great and common motive by which theſe powers are animated. Where is the prince, in the leaſt jealous of his glory, who would refuſe to enter into an aſſociation ſtrengthened by four ſuch powerful kings as thoſe of France, England, Sweden, and Denmark, cloſely united? It was a ſaying of Elizabeth's, that nothing could reſiſt theſe four powers, in ſtrict alliance with each other.

THESE truths being ſuppoſed, it only remains to examine, by what methods the houſe of Auſtria may be reduced to the monarchy of Spain, and to poſſeſs that dominion only. Theſe methods conſiſt either in artifice or force, and I have two means for each of theſe. The firſt of the ſecret means is, to diveſt the houſe of Auſtria of the Indies; Spain having no more right to prohibit an intercourſe with theſe countries to the reſt of the Europeans, than ſhe has to deſtroy their natural inhabitants; and all the nations of Europe having alſo a liberty to make eſtabliſhments in the new diſcovered countries as ſoon as they have paſſed the line, this enterprize would therefore be eaſily executed, only by equipping three fleets, each containing eight thouſand men, all provided and victualled for ſix months; England to furniſh the ſhips, Flanders the artillery and ammunition, and France, as the moſt powerful, the money and ſoldiers. There would be no occaſion for any other agreement, than that the conquered countries ſhould be equally divided.

DURING this, the ſecond of theſe means ſhould be ſecretly prepared, upon occaſion of the ſucceſſion to Cleves, and the death of the Emperor, which cannot be far diſtant, in ſuch manner, that under favour of the opportunities which theſe two incidents might furniſh,

furnish, reasons might be found to divest the house of Austria of the empire, and her other dependencies in Germany, and therein to restore the antient free manner of election.

The first of the two open and declared means is, in conjunction to take up arms, and drive the Spaniards entirely out of Flanders, in order to erect this state into a free and independent republic, bearing only the title of a member of the empire; and this, when the forces of the allies are considered, will not be found difficult. The United Provinces, comprehending in them Liege, Juliers, and Cleves, form a triangle; the first side of which, from Calais to Embden, is entirely towards the sea: the second is bounded by France, viz. by Picardy, as far as the Somme; and by the country of Messin, as far as Mezieres: the third extends from Metz, by Triers, Cologn, and Metz, as far as Dusseldorp. It is only necessary to secure these three sides in such a manner that they may be inaccessible to Spain, which may be done without difficulty, England taking upon her the first, France the second, the electors and the other interested princes the third. All the towns which should happen to be upon this line, except perhaps Thionville, which might require to be forced, would, upon a menace to be put under contribution, immediately submit.

The second of the two last means, is for the league above-mentioned generally and in concert to declare war against Spain and the whole house of Austria. What is most essential to observe in regard to this war, is, that France and England should renounce all pretences to any share of the conquest, and relinquish them to those powers who were not of themselves capable of giving umbrage to the others. Thus Franche-Comté, Alsace, and Tirol, naturally fall to the Switzers. The duke of Savoy ought to have Lombardy, to be erected, with his other dominions, into a kingdom; the kingdom of Naples falls to

the pope, as being moſt convenient to him; Sicily to the Venetians, with what may be convenient for them in Iſtria and Friuli. Thus it appears, the moſt ſolid foundation of this confederacy would ariſe from all the parties being gainers by it. The reſt of Italy, ſubject to its petty princes, might perhaps be ſuffered to continue under its preſent form of government, provided that all theſe little ſtates were altogether conſidered as compoſing only one body or republic, of which they ſhould be ſo many members.

THIS is a pretty juſt account of the manner in which I acquainted his Britannic majeſty with the deſign to which I endeavoured to gain his approbation. I farther added whatever I thought might tend to obviate his doubts, and confirm him in favour of it. I confeſſed that I was not myſelf able to elucidate the deſign; that I was not ſurpriſed that his majeſty had at firſt perceived great difficulties in it; that Henry would, no doubt, find many in it alſo, but that they only proceeded from my own weakneſs, and the impoſſibility of ſhewing clearly what to be perfectly explained required much time and long diſcourſes; that I was convinced in my own mind, the deſign was not only poſſible, but that alſo the ſucceſs of it was infallible: that if any thing was found defective in the ſcheme as I had conceived it, it might eaſily be rectified by the genius and abilities of four great kings, and ſome of the beſt generals in Europe, to whom the execution of it would be entruſted.

I THEN returned to the alliance between the two kings of France and England, and I told his Britannic majeſty, that this alliance being the chief and neceſſary foundation of the confederacy which I had propoſed to him, this muſt therefore neceſſarily begin it, without paying any regard to the diſcourſes of prejudiced perſons, or being affected by ſuch frivolous conſiderations as thoſe of the debts of France and Flanders to England. I aſſured him that

Eng-

England had nothing to fear from France, for that Henry's great preparations of arms and ammunition, and his amaſſing ſuch vaſt ſums, were only deſigned hereafter to enable him of himſelf to accompliſh the greateſt part of this important deſign; at leaſt, that I could flatter myſelf with ſucceſs in engaging him in it, from motives of glory and the public ſervice, which operated ſo powerfully upon the mind of this prince. I touched James in his moſt ſenſible part, his ambition to immortalize his memory, and his deſire of being brought into compariſon with Henry, and of ſharing his praiſes.

My earneſtneſs to ſucceed gave ſuch force and clearneſs to my expreſſions, that this prince, entering into my full meaning, embraced me with a kind of tranſport proceeding from his friendſhip for me, and a ſenſe of the wrong meaſures which hitherto endeavours had been uſed to make him purſue. "No, ſir, ſaid he, do not fear that I ſhall ever fail "in what we have together agreed upon." He proteſted with the ſame ardour, that he would not on any conſideration have remained ignorant of what I had told him; that he would never contradict the good opinion which the king of France and I had conceived of him; that he really was what I thought him; that his reflections upon what I had ſaid would yet farther confirm him in the ſentiments with which I had inſpired him; that he would even now engage to ſign the plan of alliance which I had preſented to him on Sunday, and wherein he had himſelf made ſome inconſiderable alterations; that I ſhould alſo ſign it in the name of the king of France, unleſs I rather choſe to carry it with me unſigned, to ſhew it to his moſt Chriſtian majeſty, in which caſe he gave me his royal word, that upon my bringing or ſending it back at the end of a month or ſix weeks, approved and ſigned by Henry, he would immediately, and without the leaſt difficulty, join to it his own ſignature. He concluded, by obligingly aſſuring me,

that for the future he would do nothing but in concert with the king of France. He made me promise the same secrecy in regard to all persons, except the king my master, which I had been so free as to require of him; and this he extended so far, as to forbid me ever putting upon paper certain things, which upon this occasion he revealed to me, and which I therefore suppress.

Our conference had begun about one o'clock, and continued upwards of four hours. The king called in admiral Howard, the earls of Northumberland, Southampton, Mar, lord Mountjoy, and Cecil, and declared to them, that having deliberately considered my reasons, he was resolved to enter into a close alliance with France against Spain. He reproached Cecil in very strong terms, for having, both in his words and actions, acted contrary to his commands; which explanation the secretary received very awkwardly. "Cecil, said this prince to "him, I command you, without any reply or ob- "jection, in conformity to this my design, to pre- "pare the necessary writings, according to which I "will then give the dexter *, and all assurances to "the ambassadors of messieurs the States." This was the first time he had distinguished them by this title. Then turning to me and taking me by the hand, he said, "Well, Mr. ambassador, are you "now perfectly satisfied with me?"

I replied by a profound reverence, and by making his majesty the same protestations of fidelity and attachment as if it had been to my own king, and I desired he would let me confirm it to him by kissing his hand. He embraced me, and demanded my friendship with an air of goodness and confidence which very much displeased several of his counsellors that were present. Upon my departure, he gave

* This expression signifies an oath, or promise of alliance, made by presenting the right hand.

orders

orders to the earl of Northumberland to accompany me to the Thames, and to Sidney to escort me to London.

BOOK XVI.

ALL that now remained to be done, was to put the finishing hand to the several particulars agreed on between the king of England and me, and signified by this prince to his ministers, and to form them into a treaty, or rather into a project of a treaty, between the two kings: for indeed a peace whose final and principal effect was to proceed from the acceptation of his most Christian majesty, into whose hands it was first to be transmitted, could be called by no other name. And, upon this occasion, I was perfectly sensible of the injury my negotiation received from the unhappy precaution which necessity had obliged Henry and me to take in the council of France, not to propose any thing to the king of England but as of myself.

JAMES, being more entirely persuaded than I could have wished him, that I had acted only from the suggestions of my own desires, and for the security of the protestant religion against all events which might happen, had never, from the secrets which I had revealed to him, considered me as the instrument of the king my master; and looked upon it as doing a great deal, to engage himself first, upon very promising appearances, indeed, that the king of France would concur with him even with greater readiness. But how great is the difference between such a general engagement, liable to many various interpretations, and a treaty, wherein, by virtue of a full power from the king, I might, with

with all the care and exactneſs poſſible, have inſerted every particular in that clear and diſtinct manner, from whence the bonds of all political treaties acquire their ſtrength and duration. I ſhould not ſo confidently aſſert, that, upon this occaſion, inſtead of the mere formula, I had reaſon to expect his Britannic majeſty's ſignature of a complete treaty, which it would not be poſſible for him to retract, had not the murmurs, of which the letters of the count of Beaumont to the king are full, in regard to this deficiency of a ſigned blank, been an authentic teſtimony, that I have here advanced nothing from ſuggeſtions of vanity or ſelf-love.

But I ſhould reproach myſelf with being guilty of injuſtice, were I to appear ſuſpicious of the good faith of king James; on the contrary, I affirm no prince in Europe could ſhew himſelf more jealous of it. But it happens, from I know not what fatality, that the thing in the world which one would think ought to be leaſt expoſed to the caprice of fortune, I mean a political agreement or treaty, the pure effect of a mind free in its operations, and maſter of its ſentiments, is, however, the moſt changeable and uncertain; the contracting parties in no other inſtance would incur the imputation of having forfeited their word, yet in this they almoſt always fail in the execution, provided they can find the ſmalleſt colour or pretence for ſo atrocious a perjury; as if eluding a ſolemn promiſe or engagement were not the ſame as a direct violation of it. I did not doubt, that, as ſoon as I was gone, the counſellors of his Britannic majeſty would uſe their utmoſt efforts to render ineffectual what they had not been able to prevent; and I expected that Cecil would be one of the moſt active for this purpoſe, for the victory which I had gained over him, the reprimand which he had received from the king on my account, and his confuſion from the converſation which I had had with him, when it came to be publicly known, were

ſo

so many wounds which altogether had absolutely mortified him.

NEVERTHELESS, it will readily be admitted that I had reason to be satisfied with the success of my negotiation: my own situation in the affair considered †, its conclusion was as happy and advantageous as it could be; for I had gained the glory of having succeeded in an enterprise that was thought to be extremely difficult, without running the risque of being accused of exceeding the bounds prescribed by my commission. The king and his council had it in their option to retrench, augment, or alter whatever they thought proper, in an agreement, of which I had neither made them nor myself the guarantees; and this was performing all that it was possible for me to effect: as to its real utility, when considered in respect of Henry's design, to which I would readily have sacrificed all other considerations, if I had not completely succeeded, it was because I could not perform more, without shewing a disregard to the terms prescribed, not only in my public, but even in my private instructions. However, from what I had done there arose one real and very sensible advantage; and this was, that, in a conjuncture, wherein there were so many just causes to fear an intimate union between England and Spain, this union was absolutely frustrated, and his Britannic majesty engaged in another, from which he could neither so soon nor so easily return to the former.

† This embassy of M. de Rosny is mentioned with great elogiums, in almost all the histories and memoirs of that time, without taking notice of many modern writers who have spoke of it in the same manner, though some of them, as the authors of Villeroi's memoirs of State, and of the history of the duke of Bouillon, had no interest in exalting the glory of that minister. P. Matthieu's account of it is conformable to that here given even in the most minute circumstances. Vol. II. p. 577, & seq. See also the manuscripts in the king's library, vol. 9590, and the first volume of Siri, Mem. recond. Besides the detail of the marquis de Rosny's embassy to London, which in every point agrees with what has been said here, p. 226, & seq. we find quite through this historian many very curious remarks on the council and person of king James, as well as on the affairs of the English court.

I THEREFORE immediately set about drawing up the form of a treaty, which having finished, I presented to the king of England and his counsellors, to be by them finally revised and examined: they read it several times, successively retouched it, and made some inconsiderable alterations; at last it was absolutely determined in the following manner:

THE king of England, after returning his most christian majesty many thanks for the very agreeable manner in which he had prevented him, and for the quality of the ambassador he had sent him, renewed and confirmed the antient treaties of alliance between Elizabeth and Henry, and also between Scotland and France, and expressed his intention of applying them personally to himself by the present treaty, which in a manner comprehended them all, besides its other principal design of their own personal defence against Spain, and the safety and preservation of their dominions, subjects, and allies, in such manner and at such times as the two kings shall judge proper. The United-Provinces were declared to enjoy the benefit hereof, and they were the only allies herein expressly named; in regard to whom it was also stipulated, that proper measures should be taken, either perfectly to secure their liberty, or at least, that in case they were considered as subjects to Spain or the empire, it should be on conditions which would procure them perfect peace and tranquility, and at the same time free the two allied kings from all apprehensions of a too powerful and absolute dominion of the house of Austria in these provinces.

HOWEVER, besides that the two princes mutually engaged to declare themselves openly, when either should require it of the other, in order to prevent the effects of the court of Madrid's artifices, it was also agreed immediately to furnish the States-general with succours sufficient to secure them from oppression; the number of men who were to compose

poſe theſe ſuccours was not determined; it was only agreed, that they ſhould be ſent from England alone, and that the expences of the whole armament ſhould be defrayed by his moſt chriſtian majeſty, one half purely with the money of France, the other half in deduction of the ſum due from France to England. It was likewiſe agreed, that theſe proceedings of the two crowns in favour of the Low Countries ſhould be purſued with as much ſecrecy as was poſſible, to avoid a direct infringement of the treaty of peace concluded with Spain. On a ſuppoſition that this power, conſidering this action as an abſolute infraction, ſhould make repriſals upon the two protecting kings, the following reſolution was taken: if the king of England were attacked alone, the king of France ſhould furniſh him with an army of ſix thouſand French at his own expence, during the whole time of the war; and in four years, and by equal proportions, diſcharge the remainder of his debt. England ſhould act preciſely in the ſame manner, in regard to France, in caſe the ſtorm ſhould fall upon her; the choice of either ſea or land ſhould be in the option of the party attacked, nor ſhould England in this caſe require any part of her debt. Finally, ſhould Spain at once declare war againſt both the allied princes, in order to act offenſively, and at the ſame time promote the ſecurity of Flanders, his moſt chriſtian majeſty ſhould have an army of twenty thouſand men on the frontiers of Guienne, Provence, Languedoc, Dauphiné, Burgundy, and Breſſe; he ſhould likewiſe have the ſame number of forces in Flanders; and ſhould farther divide the Spaniſh forces, by directing his gallies to cruiſe in the Mediterranean. His Britannic majeſty on his ſide, beſides a land army of at leaſt ſix thouſand men, which he ſhould keep in conſtant readineſs, ſhould ſend a fleet into the Weſt-Indies, and ſhould order another to cruiſe upon the coaſt of Spain. All payment of debts ſhould be ſuſpended, and each ſhould

defray

defray its own expences. The alliance, hitherto kept a profound secret, should now be made public, by a treaty offensive and defensive between the two kings; neither of whom, without the other's consent, should either lay down his arms, diminish the number of forces agreed on, nor begin any preliminaries or conference for an accommodation.

Such was the substance of the projected treaty which had given me so much trouble and anxiety. James signed it, and I signed it after him; after which, I thought of nothing but returning as soon as possible into France, where it was to be changed into a treaty with all the forms. I did not fail to advise Henry of it, from whom, however, I concealed or disguised part of this important information, and likewise the detail of what had last happened to me with the king of England, in presence of his counsellors: my disparches had been so long, so frequent, and yet so imperfect, and written in so much haste, that perhaps it was not acting amiss to spare his majesty the trouble; for he must have armed himself with great patience to read them. This, however, was not the only cause of my silence; for the regularity which Henry observed in writing to me, both to inform me of all material transactions in the council of France, and to send me new orders and new instructions, conformable to the several changes that happened in the business of my negotiation, sufficiently persuaded me nothing of this kind either fatigued or disgusted him; but, besides that upon these occasions, it is a stroke of good policy, always to keep something in reserve, to insure a better reception upon one's return, I was unwilling to expose the whole secret of my negotiation to the hazard of a discovery. An accident which had but lately happened, contributed still more to increase my circumspection. I have not mentioned this in its proper place, that I might not interrupt the relation of matters of greater consequence.

Among

Among the great number of letters which I sent from London, some directed to Villeroi and the council, and others to the king only, one of these last, dated the 20th of July, was never received by Henry, which he discovered from the contents of my dispatch by the next post, and gave me immediate notice of it: it was a letter of the greatest consequence. The courier to whom I entrusted it was one of my own domestics, of whose fidelity and honesty I was perfectly satisfied: I questioned him, and he answered, that, upon his arrival, the king being gone to hunt, he had carried the letter to Villeroi, and had given it to one of his clerks; that he did not know this clerk, and had forgot to ask his name, being at that moment interrupted by Louvet, who also came and spoke to this clerk, and at the same time delivered him several other packets directed for his master. This account I sent to his majesty, entreating him to make all possible enquiries about it. After great trouble, and many informations, his majesty was able to give me no other satisfaction than that he had been told, and did believe, the fault was in the post-master of Ecouan.

I had before had reason to be suspicious, and the affair of the clerk, whose roguery I was also well acquainted with, having entirely opened my eyes, I no longer doubted, that there was a traitor employed in the king's office, and even that this could be no other than one of those under Villeroi. I wrote to Henry, and told him, that notwithstanding his account of this affair, I was of opinion it could only have happened at the time and place which I had described to him in my former letter: this clerk, whoever he was, being gained by the enemies of the state, to discover the contents of the letters which I wrote to his majesty from London, could not resist his desire to open this, the direction of which excited his curiosity, for I wrote upon the cover; "Packet to be "given into the king's own hands, without being "opened."

" opened." He repented it no doubt, when he found he could make no uſe of it, its moſt eſſential contents being expreſſed in a cypher, the meaning of which he could no ways diſcover; and this conſideration conſoled me for the loſs: but he had committed the fault, and apparently thought it better to throw the letter into the fire, than deliver it opened. I afterwards diſcovered the truth, which juſtified theſe conjectures.

HENRY could have wiſhed that I had practiſed upon the queen of England and the prince her ſon, as I had on king James, thereby to gain a perfect knowledge of both their characters and inclinations; but as, notwithſtanding the reports which had been current, this princeſs remained ſtill in Scotland, and would not arrive for ſome time, his majeſty did not think it a ſufficient conſideration for me to make a longer ſtay at London, whilſt ſeveral other affairs almoſt as important required my preſence at Paris; and he was the firſt to preſs me to return as ſoon as poſſible. This order was perfectly agreeable to me: envy and malice triumphs moſt over the abſent; my friends loſt yet more than myſelf from my not being among them. I entruſted Vaucelas † my brother-in-law with the care of carrying the queen of England the letters from their majeſties which I had brought for her; and I inſtructed him in what he ſhould do and ſay, to obtain what the king deſired to know concerning this princeſs.

WHILST I was very buſily employed in preparations for my departure, the wound which I received in my mouth at the ſiege of Chartres broke out afreſh, and cauſed a fever, which retarded my departure for ſome days, and even prevented my writ-

† Andrew de Cochefilet, Baron de Vaucelas, count de Vauvineux, &c. He was afterwards counſellor of ſtate and ambaſſador in Spain and Savoy; he was the brother of the duke of Sully's ſecond wife. The houſe of Cochefilet is mentioned in Du Cheſne, as one of the moſt antient in Perche, originally of Scotland, and allied to the kings of Scotland of the houſe of Baliol in Normandy.

ing

ing as usual to the king. But as soon as I was somewhat recovered, I demanded my audience of leave of the king of England, who had the goodness to spare me the trouble of going to Greenwich upon this occasion, by sending to acquaint me, that he would come to London on purpose to receive me; and that he should be at Westminster ready to give me audience in the morning as early as I pleased, because he proposed to go a-hunting the same day, "to dissipate the uneasiness, added he, very obligingly, "which he should feel for my departure."

I ATTENDED his majesty so early in the morning, that he was not dressed, and waited near an hour, which time I employed in viewing the magnificent tombs and other curious antiquities for which the cathedral of St. Peter's Westminster is celebrated. I was received by his Britannic majesty with all possible marks of esteem and affection; and he replied to the compliment which I made him on the regret I felt from my departure, that his own, of which he had informed me, was also most true, and the more so as he could not hope for my return, because my many and various avocations would detain me in France: but he protested, and confirmed his protestations in the most solemn manner, that, by whatever person his most Christian majesty should send back the treaty, of which I carried the form, he would sign it without any farther discussion. He spoke of this his new alliance with Henry in a very affecting manner, said he considered this prince as his sole model as well as his friend; and protested, that he should look upon all those who were enemies to him, as enemies to himself. To shew me that he had not forgot any of his promises, he made a kind of recapitulation of all of them. He promised not to permit any interception or access to him, from any of the subjects of the king of France; and required the same deference from the king of France, particularly with regard to any jesuits who might be found in disguise,

guiſe, either within his dominions, or on board any of his ſhips; he praiſed Henry extremely for having baniſhed this order out of the kingdom, and ſaid, that he adviſed him from his heart, never to be guilty of ſuch an error as to recal them; he inſiſted on this article the moſt: for indeed he hated the jeſuits no leſs than he did Spain; and this averſion was increaſed by his conſidering them as his perſonal enemies; nor did he appear perfectly ſatisfied till I had engaged, as abſolutely as I could, to ſend theſe aſſurances, which he required of his moſt Chriſtian majeſty, in writing. He gave me two letters for the king and queen of France, purely complimentary, in anſwer to thoſe which he had received from them, wherein the article of the French ambaſſador was not ſlightly touched *.

Being furniſhed with theſe letters and the form of the treaty, I reſolved to ſtay no longer than the next day. Having taken my leave of all thoſe gentlemen who were with me for this purpoſe, I departed from London, taking the ſame road as at my arrival. Sidney and the Engliſh vice-admiral eſcorted me to the ſea-ſide, and took care to provide me and all my retinue with every thing we wanted, both for our journey by land and paſſage by ſea.

But I ſhould have mentioned the preſents which I made in England, in the name of his moſt Chriſtian majeſty. That to king James was ſix fine horſes richly capariſoned, to which Henry added alſo another gift, which ought to be eſteemed ſtill more conſiderable; this was a gentleman called Saint-Anthony, in all reſpects the beſt and moſt complete horſeman of the age; that to the queen of England, was a large and moſt beautiful Venetian glaſs, the golden frame of which was covered with diamonds; and that to the prince of Wales, was a golden lance and helmet, enriched likewiſe with diamonds, a

* Matthieu the hiſtorian ſays, the king of England made the marquis of Roſny a preſent of a chain ſet with diamonds of great value.

fencing

fencing maſter, and vaulter: the duke of Lennox, the earl of Northumberland, in a word, all thoſe whom I have occaſionally mentioned, beſides ſome others, were preſented, ſome with boxes, and others with crotchets, buttons, egrets, rings, and chains of gold and diamonds; ſeveral ladies alſo received rings and pearl necklaces. The value of all theſe preſents, including twelve hundred crowns which I left with Beaumont to be diſtributed in certain places, amounted to ſixty thouſand crowns. Henry's views in making ſo many rich preſents, a conſiderable part of which were even continued as penſions to ſome Engliſh lords, were to retain them, and attach them more ſtrongly to his intereſts. I made them partly from my own knowledge, and partly from the recommendations of Beaumont, my chief care being to diſtribute them ſo as to avoid giving any cauſe of jealouſy between theſe Engliſh lords, and to prevent king James himſelf from conceiving any jealouſy of my intention. The precaution which I uſed for this purpoſe was to aſk his permiſſion, to acknowledge, by ſome ſmall gratuities, the ſervices I had received in his court.

At Dover I received a letter from Henry, wherein he acquainted me, that he had arrived at Villers-Coterets the 9th of July, at which place he impatiently waited for me: he paſſed ſome days here, during which the queen made a journey to Lieſſe. I did not take any reſt at Dover, and ordered all things to be in readineſs to embark the next day. The weather was ſo bad in the night, that the Engliſh vice-admiral very ſeriouſly adviſed me to alter my reſolution. The leaſt delay appeared no leſs inſupportable to all my retinue than to myſelf, eſpecially to thoſe city-ſparks who find themſelves out of their element, when they are off the pavement of Paris: they all preſſed me with ſuch eagerneſs immediately to quit Dover, and Henry's letter flattered me with ſo favourable a reception, that I conſented to ſail as ſoon

ſoon as we could. Repentance ſoon followed our precipitation; we met with ſo violent a tempeſt, that we were in the utmoſt danger; we were the whole day in croſſing the channel, and ſo extremely ſea-ſick, that though we were three hundred of us, had a veſſel with only twenty men attacked us, we muſt have ſurrendered.

A SECOND letter which I received from Henry at Boulogne, rendered it neceſſary for me not to loſe a moment. At this place I quitted thoſe who had accompanied me, after having thanked them for the honour they had done me, and left them to go whereever they thought proper. His majeſty had taken care to order poſt-horſes to be in readineſs in all the proper places upon the road, in caſe my health would permit me to make uſe of them. I therefore took poſt at Abbeville, at three o'clock in the afternoon, and arrived the next day at eight in the morning at Villers-Coterets.

I WOULD not take any repoſe till I had firſt received the honour of ſaluting his majeſty. I found him in that walk of the park which leads to the foreſt, where he propoſed to take an airing on ſome horſes that were to be brought there to him; Bellievre, Villeroi, De Maiſſes, and Sillery, were walking with him, and in one of the walks adjacent were the count de Soiſſons, Roquelaure, and Frontenac. Immediately upon his perceiving me, though at a diſtance, he ſaid, as De Maiſſes afterwards informed me, "There's the man I have ſo much wiſhed to "ſee, he is at laſt arrived; my couſin the count of "Soiſſons muſt be called, that he may be preſent "at the brief relation he will give us of what he "has ſeen, heard, ſaid, and done, of which he has "wrote me nothing; let my horſes be ſent back, I "ſhall not now go into the foreſt."

HIS majeſty would not ſuffer me to kneel to kiſs his hand, but embraced me twice very cloſely. His firſt words were, that he was perfectly ſatisfied with my

my ſervices; that he had not thought my letters tedious, and that he ſhould take pleaſure in hearing what I had not related in them. I replied, that this relation would be ſomewhat long, and could not well be made, but as opportunity ſhould preſent, to diſcourſe on ſo many different matters. I began with the perſon of the king of England, which I deſcribed to him nearly the ſame as I have already in theſe Memoirs: I did not omit either the admiration which this prince expreſſed for his majeſty, or the delight he took on being compared with him, nor his deſire to render himſelf worthy of the compariſon. I related the proofs which he had given me of his attachment to France, of his contempt for the chimeras with which Spain had endeavoured to inſpire him, and how far he was from eſpouſing the part of the revolted French calviniſts. King James was ſenſible from his own ſituation, how very unfit this laſt procedure would have been, having ſo great a number of ſeditious in his own dominions, that I was very much deceived, if they did not one day cauſe him much trouble. I added, that if I had myſelf been diſpoſed to give ear to them, the chiefs of this faction had given me fair opportunities to enter with them into very ſerious enterpriſes: I mentioned the affair of the loſt diſpatch, and ſpoke my ſentiments of it with freedom. I then returned to the king of England, and acquainted his majeſty with what he was ignorant of in regard to my laſt audience, and, together with the form of the treaty ſigned by us both, I preſented to him the two letters from his Britannic majeſty, and another letter wrote to his majeſty, ſince my departure from London, by the count of Beaumont, which I had received upon the road. Henry ordered Villeroi to read all thoſe letters to him.

BEAUMONT in his letter acquainted the king, that the queen of England, with her children, was inſtantly expected in London, from whence ſhe would

go directly to Windsor to reside there with the king; that many were apprehensive her arrival would cause disturbance in affairs, and might inspire the factious with courage; that happily there was no able man among them; that the Spanish ambassador was at last arrived in England, and, with another from the duke of Brunswic, was said to be actually at Gravesend, from whence they were immediately to proceed to London, his Britannic majesty having sent ships to protect the Spanish ambassador in his passage against those of the States; that count d'Aremberg depended so entirely upon the alterations which this ambassador would make in affairs, that being informed of his arrival, he was gone before him to Windsor, there to wait his coming: nor did Beaumont dissemble his own fears of the effects which it might have on a prince susceptible of new impressions, not so much from what he would gain from the magnificent offers of Spain, as from his own natural timidity, his weakness, and even scruples, lest, in supporting the United-Provinces, he should countenance a parcel of rebels.

Beaumont wrote thus from the communication which had been made to him of a plan for an agreement between Spain and the States, designed and drawn up in Germany, of which he even gave the purport in this letter; but he seemed persuaded the deputies of the Low-Countries would never consent to it, though the emperor should be guarantee of it, because they thought it neither strong enough to oblige Spain to observe it, nor even sufficiently impartial, to hope from it a perfect peace with that crown; besides, they had a general suspicion of all propositions wherein France and England were not concerned. He observed that these deputies were likewise upon the point of returning home, with a resolution to animate their republic to a vigorous defence, from the certainty my convention with his Britannic majesty had given them, that they should

not

not be abandoned by the two kings, and from the permiſſion which James had given them to raiſe ſoldiers in Scotland, to be commanded by my lord Buccleugh, whom they had acceped as colonel of theſe recruits: finally, Beaumont concluded his letter, by ſaying, that, in order to be ſtill more perfectly informed of every thing that paſſed, and to remind the king of England of his promiſes, if neceſſary, he was going himſelf to Windſor. I take no notice of thoſe paſſages in this letter, wherein Beaumont gave the higheſt praiſes to my conduct and my negotiation.

VILLEROI having finiſhed reading the plan for a treaty, "Well, couſin," ſaid Henry, addreſſing himſelf to the count of Soiſſons, "what do you think "of all this? give me your opinion of it freely." I readily imagined what reply he would make, and the count did not deceive me. "Since you require "it of me, ſaid he, I muſt ſay, that I think the "marquis of Roſny has very great credit with the "king of England; and that he is in a marvelous "good intelligence with the Engliſh, at leaſt if his "relation, and all which you have been informed of, "is true; for which reaſon he ought to have brought "much more advantageous conditions, and a treaty "in a better form than that which he has preſented "to you, which is really nothing more than a mere "project of hopes and fair words, without any "certainty that they will ever be executed." "What "you have ſaid is truly very fine and good, replied "Henry: nothing is ſo eaſy as to diſcover faults in "the actions of others." His majeſty ſtill continued to ſpeak, as if to make my apology, and altogether my elogy. He ſaid, I was the only perſon in France who, with ſo limited a power, could have performed what I had; that my credential letters were not even demanded of me at the court of London, which behaviour was not to be paralleled; that he had foreſeen and expected the difficulties with

which I had ſtruggled, and that he had not hoped I could have ſo eaſily conquered them; that he was perfectly ſatisfied, and that he only repented his not having given me Carte-blanche. "Roſny, ſaid he, "in his conduct has given me an example, which "confirms to me the truth of a Latin proverb, "though I do not know whether I ſpeak it right, "Mitte ſapientem, & nihil dicas:" "and I am "certain, that, if his preſence ſhould again become "neceſſary on the other ſide, he will always be ready to return, and ſerve me with the ſame ability "and addreſs which he has here ſhewn." I ſuppreſs a great part of what, upon this occaſion, the generous ſoul of Henry inſpired him with for my defence: what gave me the moſt ſenſible ſatisfaction, and which I conſidered as infinitely ſuperior to all the praiſes he beſtowed upon me, was his adding, that he had nothing to fear from thus praiſing me to my face, becauſe he knew that thoſe praiſes, inſtead of making me vain and leſs diligent, would only increaſe my deſire of acting ſtill better. Theſe words ſilenced the count of Soiſſons.

I THEN anſwered ſeveral queſtions which the king aſked me, touching the nature and power of the three kingdoms of Great-Britain, on the character of the Engliſh, and what they thought of their new king. After this, the converſation turned on the affair of Combaut. Henry, after I had given him a circumſtantial relation of it, aſſured me that he approved of my conduct therein, conſidering it as equally dangerous either to favour, or pretend ignorance of the eſcape of the criminal, to endeavour to excuſe him, or openly to vindicate him. I acquainted his majeſty with the character of young Servin †, ſuch as I have already given. The king having twice aſked whether dinner was ready, went

† L'Etoile makes mention of him. "It is ſurpriſing, ſays he, "how it could happen, that the plague ſhould find means to attack "ſo great a plague as he."

in

in to sit down to table, having first directed Villeroi to provide me my dinner, and ordered me to go and take my repose till the next day, as being what I must very much want, after having rode post, and that succeeded by a pretty long walk. He ordered my good friends Frontenac and Parfait, to serve me from his kitchen, till my own equipage and attendants were arrived; "And to-morrow morning, said he, "we will renew our discourse."

In the afternoon, the king took the airing in the forest, which he had intended in the morning; in the evening at supper, he sent me two excellent melons and four patridges; at the same time acquainting me, that I should come to him early the next morning, before any of his counsellors were with him; which I accordingly did. Though it was very early, he was dressed, and had breakfasted, when I entered his apartment, and was diverting himself with looking at a game of tennis then playing in the little court of the castle, which was generally used for this diversion. "Rosny, said he, we will take a walk "while the freshness of the morning continues; "I have some questions to ask you, and some mat-"ters to discuss, on which I have been thinking the "whole night. I arose at four o'clock, these things "having pressed my thoughts so strongly, that I have "not been able to sleep." He took me by the hand, and we walked into the park, where we continued near two hours alone. Bellievre, Villeroi, and Sillery, having joined us, the king continued walking another hour with us four. Our mornings were generally spent in the same manner, during the three following days which his majesty passed at Villers-Coterets. In these conversations, I gave him an exact and particular account of all the most secret and important matters with which he still remained to be acquainted.

I received several letters from Beaumont, the contents of which may serve as a suplement to the

affairs of England, which I have already related. The arrival of the queen at London did not occasion all that disorder which had been apprehended; the the discontented found her not to be what they had conceived. It seemed as though her sudden change of situation and country had made as sudden a change in her inclinations and manners; from an effect of the elegancies of England, or from those of the royal dignity, she became disposed to pleasures and amusements, and seemed wholly engaged in them and nothing else; she so entirely neglected or forgot the Spanish politics, as gave reason to believe she had, in reality, only pretended to be attached to them, through the necessity of eventual conjunctures. Kintore, who had accompanied her, openly continued his profession of attachment to France. Some ladies, in whom this princess reposed the greatest confidence, positively assured Beaumont she was not so perfect a Spaniard as was believed. Beaumont contrived to get himself presented to her, and made my excuses to her for not having been able to stay till her arrival, nor wait upon her myself with the letters from their majesties.

DURING all this the Spanish ambassador, whose arrival in England had been so positively asserted, was not yet come. Count d'Aremberg, who was so far deceived in his expectation as to go and wait his arrival at Windsor, found himself at last obliged to demand without him his audience of the king, who granted it. I am ignorant of what passed in it: I only know that he demanded a second, for which the king made him suffer a thousand delays, which however can only be attributed to this prince's distaste of business, and his passion for the chace, which seemed to make him forget all other affairs; for at this very time, his conduct and discourse was so far from giving the Spanish partisans any cause to despair, that, on the contrary, he appeared disposed again to fall into his former irresolution. Beaumont did not know

know to what to attribute this change, whether to his natural disposition, or to the insinuations of Cecil, who used all the means he possibly could to make him fail in the observance of his promises. Happily many new incidents concurred to support this prince against all temptations of this kind; and the Spaniards were so imprudent in their conduct, as to be themselves the principal causes of it.

No sooner was the Spanish ambassador arrived in London (for he did at last arrive there) than both court and city, and all affairs were put into a violent ferment, the effects of various cabals, intrigues, mistrusts, and suspicions. He soon multiplied the number of his creatures, by his extraordinary liberalities to all those whom he considered as necessary to be gained. He endeavoured to tamper with the Scotch troops, and engage them in the Spanish service, as the States had done in theirs: this would have been a decisive stroke, which Holland could not envade any otherwise than with the assistance of her protectors by retaining these troops in her own service. All these proceedings of the Spaniard, being pursued with a spirit of pride and independence, were so much the more disagreeable to James, as his natural weakness produced in him a repugnance to oppose them by an exertion of his authority. He would have given the world to be freed from his perplexity, by the departure of the ambassador. A whisper was likewise current concerning a conspiracy of the English Catholics † against James's person. Beaumont constantly treated this insinuation as a calumny; and indeed, whoever is acquainted with the true state of this body in England at this time, will, in its weakness and the meanness of its sentiments, discover an unanswerable argument to disprove it.

But a more certain and undoubted conspiracy was that of some English lords, who formed the de-

† It produced a proclamation, whereby king James banished the jesuits out of his dominions. Mem. d'Etat de Villeroi, vol. III. p. 219.

ſign of ſtabbing the king. Their chiefs, for the deſign was proved, and it was believed they had undertaken it at the inſtigation of Spain and the archdukes, were lord Cobham, Raleigh, Gray, Markham, and ſeveral others of the principal ſervants, and even the intimate confidants, of the late queen, tho' they had appeared among the moſt forward to do homage to her ſucceſſor. Nevertheleſs Cecil was not named in the cabal; the affair was public, and was the ſubject of much diſcourſe. A religious diſpute, which aroſe in the conference between the proteſtants and puritans, increaſed the diſorder. The converſation of the court turned entirely upon the diſputes and quarrels which happened between particular perſons. The earl of Northumberland ſtruck colonel Vere in the face, in preſence of the whole court, and was confined at Lambeth by the king's order, who was juſtly incenſed as ſo diſreſpectful and outrageous an inſult. The earl of Southampton and lord Grey gave each other the lie in the queen's preſence, and uſed ſeveral other atrocious expreſſions; but they were reconciled to the king by aſking pardon of the queen for their imprudence, and to each other by an intervention of the royal authority, commanding them to forbear any acts of violence. After which, without any other ſatisfaction, they converſed together as friends: from whence one would be apt to imagine they were of opinion, that the king's name and authority preſerve the honour of thoſe who cannot vindicate it for themſelves.

When from the accounts which Beaumont gave me in his letters, of all theſe public and private differences, I found the affairs was in the moſt favourable ſituation I could deſire it, I embraced the opportunity to put the finiſhing hand to the work which I had begun at London: I did myſelf the honour of writing to his Britannic majeſty; I informed him, that the king of France had with pleaſure ratified the

plan

plan concerted between his majesty and me, and that he had sent the count of Beaumont the necessary power to reduce it into such a form as his majesty should judge proper; I repeated the protestations of obedience and attachment, which I had before made him; I assured him, that by this I was so far from offending the king my master, that, on the contrary, I served and obeyed him.

I WROTE at the same time to Beaumont, and informed him of what had happened to me upon my return into France, of my conversations with the king, and his inclination to send me again at a proper time into England. With this letter I also sent Beaumont the treaty signed by his majesty, and gave him likewise the necessary instructions for maintaining the good intelligence which this treaty established between the two crowns: this would in some measure depend on that which should subsist between the ambassador of France at London, and that of England at Paris. This latter had taken offence at the superscription of a letter, wherein a title had been given him which was either improper, or such as he did not like. I took the blame of this upon myself, and repaired it as well as I could.

BEAUMONT having received the treaty, acquainted the king of England therewith, who referred him directly to Cecil. He was astonished to find this secretary on a sudden become tractable, give his approbation of it with great readiness, and without making the least difficulty; on the contrary, he was lavish in his praises of his most Christian majesty and me: all things conspired to promote it; the treaty was therefore received, signed, and accomplished, in the most authentic and solemn manner. Dauval, being arrived in France from Beaumont with an account of this good news, I made my acknowledgements to his Britannic majesty in a second letter: and to employ all sorts of counter-batteries against the Spaniards, who set no bounds to their presents,

we imitated them in this reſpect, and even gave penſions to all the moſt diſtinguiſhed perſons in the court of king James; the beſt and moſt beautiful horſes were induſtriouſly procured wherever they could be found, and they were ſent, together with magnificent furniture, as preſents to this prince.

THUS was Spain diſappointed in thoſe great hopes ſhe had conceived to our prejudice, from the acceſſion of the king of Scotland to the throne of England, and which probably were the motives for her making thoſe great armaments which ſhe did this year. On the 27th of May, a ſquadron of twelve Spaniſh galleys, manned with three thouſand ſoldiers, and completely equipped, were beaten by only four Dutch veſſels; which was the ſecond loſs of this kind that Spain had lately ſuffered: Frederic Spinola, who commanded this ſquadron, was killed in the engagement. Spain, to retrieve theſe misfortunes, made ſuch preparations on every ſide for war, as ſpread a terror amongſt all her neighbours; ſhe made herſelf miſtreſs of the Mediterranean, by the galleys that Charles Doria commanded there; and veſſels in the mean time were building in the port of Liſbon, for the embarkation of twenty thouſand ſoldiers. This work was purſued with ſuch indefatigable labour, that it was not remitted even on Sundays and holidays.

EVERY one talked his own way about the occaſion of ſuch formidable preparations: ſome ſaid, that they were deſigned againſt Flanders, prticularly Oſtend; others, that they were deſtined for the conqueſt of Barbary, becauſe the king of Cuſco having promiſed the council of Madrid to aſſiſt that crown in the reduction of the important city of Algiers, they provided a ſupply of men and money, which that prince kept to himſelf, without being at much trouble about the performance of his word. Many perſons were perſuaded that Spain had a deſign upon France itſelf: the firſt notice his majeſty received of

it,

it, was at the same time that he was advised to be attentive to the castle of If, and to the islands on the coast of Marseilles. I was then in England; his majesty wrote me an account of it, but did not seem to give much credit to those informations, although he was not ignorant that the duke of Savoy was very solicitous to do him this bad office; but he knew likewise that Spain thought this advice of the duke's very interested; and the pope gave him repeated assurances of the contrary, which there was great room to think proceeded indirectly from the council of Spain, who had reasons for not provoking this prince too far.

In reality, all this was unravelled by taking into consideration, what was carrying on with king James, by a double negotiation of France and Spain at the same time; and his majesty took the part which prudence directed, which was, to give new orders for the strict observation of discipline in Languedoc, Provence, and Dauphiné. Monsieur Le-Grand, who had lately obtained that the artillery of the city of Beaune should not be taken away, was sent into his government of Burgundy, with orders to act in concert with Lesdiguieres, and to throw himself into Geneva, if the duke of Savoy seemed to have any intention of making a new attempt upon this city, although the council of France at the same time earnestly advised this little republic to listen to the mediation offered by some Swiss cantons, to terminate by an advantageous agreement that kind of tedious, and long war which had so long subsisted between them and Savoy. However, the transportation of arms from France and Spain, or Spanish Flanders, was prohibited; and Barrault † caused four thousand five hundred pikes of Biscay to be seized at Saint-John-de-Luz, which a French merchant of Dieppe had embarked for the Low Countries, notwithstanding this order.

† Emeric Gobier de Barrault.

The long ſtay which was made by Doria on the coaſt of Genoa with the galleys before mentioned, was another myſtery that could not be found out. He had ſailed for the coaſt of Villa-Francha, as if with a deſign to take the three ſons of the duke of Savoy on board, who appeared to be waiting at Nice only for an opportunity of being conveyed to Spain; their father, it was ſaid, ſent them there to be educated, and to be raiſed to the firſt dignities of the ſtate †, the government of Milan, and the viceroyſhip of Naples and Sicily, being thoſe he moſt eagerly panted after, probably, becauſe he flattered himſelf, that thoſe titles would afford him an opportunity to ſnatch ſome part of thoſe territories for himſelf. But every one was deceived; Doria paſſed by without landing or ſtopping at Villa-Francha: nevertheleſs, there were perſons who continued to believe that it had been his deſign, but that his reſentment for Savoy's not paying him thoſe honours, nor eſteeming him ſo highly as he thought he deſerved, had prevented his execution of it; others maintained that it was agreed upon between the duke of Savoy and him, that he ſhould act in this manner, to give the duke a pretence for ſtaying longer at Nice, where, ſaid theſe conjecturers, he only waited for an opportunity to to make an attempt upon Provence; and others again thought they had diſcovered the reaſon of his departure, to be an order which they ſuppoſed he had received from Spain to go and join his ſquadron to the great naval army of the Spaniards: or poſſibly the council of Madrid had nothing elſe in view, but to accuſtom her neighbours to preparations and motions, for which they could not gueſs the cauſe. However that may be, this did not prevent the voyage of the children of Savoy into Spain; after a delay of ſome time longer at Nice, they paſſed on the twentieth of June within view of Marſeilles,

† The ſecond of theſe princes was made viceroy of Portugal, and the third archbiſhop of Toledo and cardinal.

without

without ſaluting the caſtle of If; their convoy conſiſted of nine galleys, four of Malta, three of the Pope's, and two of Savoy.

In the mean time, ſome other Spaniſh troops were upon their march from Italy to Flanders. His majeſty was the more attentive to their motions, becauſe he was informed that Hébert, who had left France and retired to Milan, continued his former intrigues with the count of Fuentes: the ſecret was diſcovered by a letter that Hébert wrote to his brother, who was a treaſurer of France in Languedoc. Theſe troops, as I was informed by his majeſty's letters to me at London, quitted Savoy, and paſſed the bridge of Green on the firſt of July; they conſiſted of ten Neapolitan companies, commanded by Don Inigo de Borgia, and only Don Sancho de Lune remained in this canton with a ſmall body of troops, with a view no doubt to haſten the treaty depending between Savoy and Geneva, which was concluded accordingly on the 15th of the ſame month. The remainder of the Spaniſh troops that were drawn from Italy, conſiſted of four thouſand Milanois, commanded by the count de Saint George, who took the ſame rout.

Notwithstanding theſe ſupplies, by which the archdukes received a great acceſſion of ſtrength, yet Henry was ſtill of opinion, that the Spaniards would not complete their enterpriſe upon Oſtend this year; they themſelves ſeemed to think that time alone could effect it, their forces being conſiderably diminiſhed. The thouſand horſe that attended the duke of Aumale were reduced by deſertion to leſs than five hundred, and thoſe that remained were ſo great an expence to their own commanders, that they expected to be ſoon obliged to diſband them. Such was the ſituation of the United-Provinces during this year, wherein they gained likewiſe another advantage over their enemies; a ſmall number of Dutch veſſels who were going to load ſpices, meeting

ing with fourteen Portugueſe galleys belonging to Goa, gave them chace, took five, in which they found great riches, and diſperſed the reſt.

EUROPE, during the courſe of this year, had not more tranquility in the eaſt than the weſt. Mahomet the third, to ſecure himſelf as he thought in the throne, cut the throats of twenty of his brothers. Buried in the receſſes of the ſeraglio, he did not perceive that his mother, to whom he entirely abandoned the government, abuſed his authority: and was firſt informed of it by the Janizaries, who came one day in a body, and in a manner that ſhewed they would neither brook a denial nor delay, demanded the head of the two Capi Agas, who directed the council of the ſultana-mother, and the baniſhment of the ſultana herſelf, which he was obliged to comply with immediately. He afterwards put his own ſon, and the ſultana his wife to death, and was himſelf ſeized with the plague, of which he died.

BUT it is now time to reſume the affairs of the kingdom. His majeſty having returned from Villers-Coterets to Fontainebleau, I left him in this laſt place, and came to Paris, to attend my uſual employments: theſe were to make the receivers-general of the diſtricts, and other perſons in office, bring in exact accounts; to caſhier thoſe who were convicted of any miſdemeanour, as it happened to Palot a receiver in Languedoc and Guienne; to make a proviſion of ſums neceſſary to keep the old allies of the crown, and to acquire new ones, and the maintenance of thoſe that reſided in foreign courts for this purpoſe; and laſtly, by the mere force of frugality and œconomy, to enrich the treaſury, by diſcharging all the debts his majeſty had contracted during the league, and the other engagements of the ſtate, at the head of which his majeſty generally placed the penſions he allowed the Swiſs cantons, and was always very ſolicitous to know if they were diſcharged: the fewer allies we had in Italy, the

more

more neceſſary the king thought it to ſooth and manage them. He made a preſent of a ſuit of armour, which he had one day worn in battle, to the Venetian reſidents at Paris; that republic earneſtly requeſted it of him, and ſet ſo high a value upon this preſent, that they hung up the ſuit of armour, with a kind of ceremony, in a place where it was publicly expoſed to view, and ſerved for a monument to poſterity, of their veneration of a prince who was ſo juſtly famous for his military virtues.

As the new œconomy, which I had introduced into every branch of the revenue, cut off the greateſt part of thoſe profits which the courtiers and other perſons about the king drew from different places, and leſſened the preſents his majeſty made them from his own purſe, they fell upon methods to ſupply this vacuity; to which the prince, delighted with an opportunity of ſatisfying them, conſented ſo much the more willingly as it coſt him nothing: this was to prevail on his majeſty to paſs innumerable edicts, granting certain privileges and tolls upon particular parts of trade, to be enjoyed by them, excluſively of all others. When this trick was once found, there was nothing that promiſed profit, which did not get into the brain of one or other among thoſe who thought they had a right to ſome favour from the king; intereſt gave every man invention, and the kingdom immediately ſwarmed with thoſe petty monopolies, which, though ſingly of little conſequence, yet altogether were very detrimental to the public, and particularly to commerce, in which the leaſt obſtruction produces miſchief. I thought it my duty to make frequent and earneſt remonſtrances to the king on this ſubject; and therefore made no ſcruple to expoſe myſelf to the anger of the count of Soiſſons, with whom, as I have already ſaid, I could never live three months together without a quarrel.

The count of Soiſſons preſented a petition to the

king at Fontainebleau, in which he propoſed that a grant ſhould be made him of fifteen-pence upon every bale of goods exported: a deſign that muſt certainly have been ſuggeſted to him by ſome of his friends, for he could never have thought of it himſelf; nor did he know all the conſequences of it, at leaſt he aſſured the king that this toll would not bring in more than thirty thouſand livres a year; and ſo well perſuaded him of the truth of what he had aſſerted, that his majeſty, who thought himſelf obliged to beſtow a gratuity of this value upon him, and being likewiſe vanquiſhed by repeated importunities, granted his requeſt, without giving me, who was then at Paris, any notice of it. Henry, that he might be troubled with no farther ſolicitations about it, cauſed an edict to be expedited for the count, which he ſigned, and the ſeal was placed to it; but ſome remains of a ſcruple with regard to trade, the importance of which he was fully ſenſible of, made him, in granting this favour, reſerve a verbal condition, that it ſhould not exceed fifty thouſand livres, preſs too hard upon the people, nor be too great a burthen upon trade.

THAT evening the king reflecting upon what he had granted, began to have ſome ſuſpicion that he was impoſed upon: he wrote to me inſtantly, and propoſed the thing to me as an indifferent queſtion, without telling me what had paſſed, or naming any perſon. I knew not what to think of ſuch a demand, but ſet myſelf to work, and, taking to my aſſiſtance the accounts of the cuſtoms and domain, and entries of proviſions, I found that the annual amount of this tax would not be leſs than three hundred thouſand crowns; and I could not but think it ſtill of more importance, when I reflected on the trade of hemp and linen, which it ſeemed likely to ruin in Brittany, Normandy, and great part of Picardy; I therefore went immediately to Fontainebleau, to make my report to his majeſty. The king confeſſed

feſſed to me all that had happened, with many marks of aſtoniſhment that his confidence had been thus abuſed. The true remedy had been to have cauſed the edict to be brought back, and have entirely ſuppreſſed it, as being obtained by a falſe pretence: but that I might not be embroiled with the count of Soiſſons, who could not be long ignorant that it was I who had opened his majeſty's eyes, it was agreed upon between us to have recourſe to another method, which was to hinder the parliament from regiſtering the edict. All that was neceſſary for this purpoſe, was to ſend no letter with it, either under the king's hand or mine; this was an agreement that had long been made between the king and the ſovereign courts; and without this formality, whatever other orders were produced, the parliament knew what they had to do, and would not regiſter any thing. I was certain however, and I told his majeſty ſo, that this expedient would not preſerve me from the reſentment of the count, and of the marchioneſs of Verneuil, who I diſcovered was concerned in this buſineſs; but I reſolved to hold firm againſt the count, provided his majeſty would be proof likewiſe to the ſolicitations of his miſtreſs, which he promiſed me, and added, that he would openly ſupport me.

Two or three days after my return to Paris, the count of Soiſſons came to my houſe, and paid me many compliments, having, as he ſaid, occaſion for a Maximilian de Bethune at full length: he thought by ſhewing me great kindneſs, and condeſcending to be familiar with me, he ſhould eaſily obtain my ſignature, without being obliged to tell me for what purpoſe he demanded it. I anſwered coldly, pretending to be quite ignorant of the matter, that I never ſigned any thing without knowing what it was: the count then found that he muſt have recourſe to other means; he acquainted me with what his majeſty had lately done for him, and ſaid, that as he was not ignorant of the private agreement between the king, the ſovereign

ſovereign courts, and me, the ſignature which he demanded was a letter to the parliament of Brittany, and the court of aids at Rouen.

At this declaration, I aſſumed an air ſtill more ſerious, and pretended to be greatly ſurpriſed that the king had given me no intimation of the affair, nor communicated it to the council, to whom reſolutions of ſuch conſequence were always made known; and from thence took occaſion to tell the count, that an edict of this nature, which bore ſo hard upon the public intereſt, deſerving to be excepted from the general rule, I could not take the danger upon myſelf; that therefore he muſt addreſs himſelf directly to his majeſty, or bring me at leaſt an order ſigned by him, which would ſerve to juſtify me againſt the reproaches I could not fail to draw upon myſelf ſome time or other for my compliance. The count replied, with much bitterneſs, that I only made uſe of this extreme caution to ruin his deſign, and to break with him entirely; but finding theſe words could not alter my reſolution, he went away grumbling. I heard him mutter ſomething between his ſhut teeth concerning our former quarrels; and he went to diſcharge his choler at the houſe of the marchioneſs de Verneuil.

This lady, altho' as much enraged with me as the count of Soiſſons, was yet come to make me a viſit, juſt as I was leaving my cloſet to go to his majeſty, who had returned to the Louvre. She could not have choſen a worſe time; the too eaſy king had juſt ſuffered a ſcore of edicts, all in the ſpirit of the firſt, to be extorted from him, and, to ſay the truth, of but little conſequence. I ſet out with a full reſolution to make a new attempt upon the king in favour of the people, who would be prevented by theſe extortions from paying the land-tax. The marchioneſs aſking what paper it was I had in my hand, "This "is a pretty buſineſs, madam," anſwered I in a paſſion, yet affecting to be much more angry than I really

really was, " you are not the laſt among thoſe that " are concerned in it;" in effect, her name made the ſixth article. I then opened the memorial, and read to her all the names, with the titles of the edicts. " And what do you intend to do with this?" ſaid ſhe. " I intend," anſwered I, " to make ſome " remonſtrances to the king upon it." " Truly," replied ſhe, no longer able to contain her ſpleen, " he will have little to do to take your advice, and " offend ſo many great people. And on whom, " pray, would you have the king confer favours, if " not on thoſe who are mentioned in this wri- " ting, his couſins, friends, and miſtreſs?" " What " you ſay, madam," replied I, " would be reaſon- " able enough, if his majeſty took the money all " out of his own purſe; but to make a new levy up- " on the merchants, artiſts, labourers, and country- " men, it will never do; it is by them that the " king and all of us are ſupported, and 'tis enough " that they provide for a maſter, without having ſo " many couſins, friends, and miſtreſſes to maintain."

MADAM de Verneuil loſt none of my words, ſhe dwelt particularly upon the laſt; and, in the rage with which ſhe was tranſported, made uſe of them to form a thouſand wicked ſlanders. She flew immediately to the count of Soiſſons, and told him, that I had ſaid the king had but too many relations, and that it would be happy for him, and his people, if he could get rid of them. The count, mad with rage, went the next morning, and demanded a conference with the king; after a long enumeration of his ſervices, he told him, that I had ſo outrageouſly injured his honour, that he muſt abſolutely have my life, unleſs his majeſty would himſelf do him juſtice. Henry, ſeeing him in ſuch violent emotion, aſked him, with great compoſure, what I had done or ſaid, and whether the affront he had received was directly from me, or had been related to him by another perſon. The count not caring to enter into any explanation,

nation, replied, that if we were both together in his majesty's presence, not all the respect he ought to have for a person who was dear to him should hinder him from doing himself justice; and added, that what he had said was true, and he ought to be believed on his word, for he was not accustomed to lie. "If "that was the case, cousin," said the king, in a voice such as must naturally put him in confusion, "you would not be like one in your family; for "we always produce your elder brother, in particu- "lar, as remarkable for this: but since it was a re- "port made to you, tell me who made it, and what "he said, and then I shall know what I ought to "do, and will endeavour to satisfy you, if you are "to be satisfied with reason." The count replied, that he had taken an oath not to name the person from whom he received his informations, but that he was as well convinced of his veracity as his own. "So then, cousin, answered the king, you excuse "yourself from answering my question, on account "of an oath you have taken, to the contrary; and "I likewise will take an oath to believe no more of "your complaint, that what monsieur de Rosny "himself shall acknowledge to me; for I have as "good an opinion of his veracity, as you can possi- "bly have of those who tell you these fine tales."

The count of Soissons, when he went out of the king's presence, discovered such an excess of fury against me, that his majesty thought it necessary to give me notice of it; which he did by Zamet, and La Varenne, whom, at the same time, he ordered to ask me, if I had not by some word or action given offence to the count. I answered, that ever since the visit I had received from the count at the arsenal, which was above fifteen days ago, I had never spoke to him, or any of his people; that the marchioness de Verneuil indeed had been at my house, but neither she nor I had mentioned the count. "Oh!" said the king, when these words were repeated to him, "we

" we need not doubt any longer from whence this " miſchief proceeds, ſince Madam de Verneuil is " named; for ſhe is ſo full of malice, and has ſuch " a ready invention, that to the leaſt word of mon- " ſieur de Roſny's ſhe would add an hundred, nay a " thouſand; but for all that, this affair muſt not " be neglected." The rage in which his majeſty had ſeen the count, gave him reaſon to apprehend that he would take ſome violent reſolution againſt me; he therefore ſent La Varenne to tell me, that I ſhould never ſtir out of my houſe without being well attended, and that he deſired I would ſpare nothing for my ſecurity; adding, with great goodneſs, that all the expence I could be at in guarding myſelf, would be far below what it would coſt him if he ſhould loſe me †.

I CANNOT quit the article of this new creation of edicts, without taking notice of an arret of council, much more ancient, by which a tax of anchorage was ordered to be levied on all the foreign veſſels that anchored in our ports. This at the bottom was no more than what was paid by our veſſels in foreign ports; nevertheleſs it was with regret, and only by his majeſty's expreſs orders, that I carried it into execution, looking upon it to be one of thoſe exactions which was moſt likely to depreſs the vigour of our trade. The parliaments of Rouen and Rennes made made great oppoſition to the regiſtering them, and

† L'Etoile's Journal treats at large of this difference, which the king put an end to, by obliging the count of Soiſſons to be contented with a letter of ſatisfaction which M. de Roſny wrote to him: and according to Matthieu, Henry IV. made the count de Soiſſons and the marquis de Roſny come into his apartment, and reconciled them. ibid. 592. De Thou alſo ſpeaks of it, b. cxxix. The ſteddineſs of M. de Roſny has procured him great commendations from our hiſtorians. " He had no conſideration for any thing, ſays father Challons, but " the king's ſervice; nor could any reſpect for perſons of the greateſt " quality, princes, or even the queen herſelf, prevail on him to make " the leaſt conceſſion, where he thought the king's intereſt or glory " came in queſtion; this got him many enemies, and was the cauſe " that, after the king's death, the queen took the management of " affairs out of his hands." Hiſt. de Fr. vol. III. p. 255.

the

the marechal d'Ornano beſtirred himſelf greatly, having money owing him from the ſtate, which had been charged upon that part for his reimburſement. The eſtabliſhment of commiſſioner-examiners, lieutenants-particuliers, aſſeſſeurs-criminels, and other officers of juſtice, met with no leſs difficulty from the ſame court of Rouen, which more than any other oppoſed theſe new edicts; the laſt were made with an intention to ſatisfy and ſend back the colonels and captains of companies, who had waited at Paris a long time for their pay, in conſequence of theſe new regulations: probably it was the meeting with ſuch obſtacles as theſe to his deſigns, that had long made Henry ſolicitous to ſuppreſs the chamber of requeſts in all his parliaments. He had laboured very earneſtly to effect this, and actually began with that of the parliament of Thouloufe this year, which continued to be ſuppreſſed, notwithſtanding all the objections that were made to it by his own council, in which all the debates ran contrary to him.

THE quarrel between the count of Soiſſons and me, made a great noiſe; but the king, to ſhew me that it had produced no alteration in his friendſhip, ſent me notice by Beringhen ſome days afterwards, that he intended to paſs by Roſny, in the journey he was upon the point of making to Normandy, and that he expected I ſhould treat him there with his court. The princes, princeſſes, and the conſtable, were all that the king permitted to be of this party. The preparations I made were worthy of him who did me the honour to be my gueſt: but the entertainment was diſturbed by an unforeſeen accident; the rivers were ſo much ſwelled by a ſudden ſtorm, that the offices of Roſny were overflowed †, the

† I believe L'Etoile a little exaggerates this accident, when he ſays their majeſties with great difficulty eſcaped the danger. "The king, "adds he, laughing, told M. de Roſny, that heaven and earth were "combined againſt him, and that he ought boldly to take care of "himſelf."

fruit

fruit ſpoiled, as well as the labour of the ſervants; the ladies were terrified, ſuppoſing the danger to be much greater than it really was. I removed their fears by cauſing a conduit to be opened, through which the water uſed to have a paſſage, and which had been filled up to make the paſſage more commodious for his majeſty and for the carriages. I had already begun to make the road and the bridge at the entrance to Roſny, but neither were yet completed.

THE waters did great damage for ten leagues about, but I came off for two or three hundred crowns.

HIS majeſty proceeded as far as the Lower Normandy, but did not go beyond Caën: he took the government of it from Crevecœur-Montmorency, who was accuſed of carrying on correſpondencies with Bouillon and d'Auvergne, particularly with Tremouille, whoſe kinſman he was; and gave it to Belliſonds. From Caën the king paſſed through Rouen †, where he ſettled entirely all the affairs of that province. In this city he declared his pleaſure concerning the marriage of my daughter, whom, as it was formerly mentioned, the princeſs Catherine had propoſed for the duke of Rohan, and who had ſince that time been demanded in marriage by monſieur and madam de Fervaques, for monſieur de Laval the ſon of that lady. His majeſty at Rouen ordered me rather to prefer Laval; but he once more altered his opinion.

THE affairs of religion were in part the occaſion of the journey his majeſty had lately taken; and the duke of Bouillon had likewiſe a ſhare ‡ in it. He

† "The king was attacked at Rouen with ſo violent a looſeneſs, "as to void blood, which the phyſicians ſaid came from his having "eaten too great a quantity of raw oyſters". L'Etoile, an. 1603.

‡ It is in vain to endeavour at any juſtification of the duke of Bouillon. His own hiſtorian gives up his defence, after the depoſition of the count d'Auvergne, b, v,

was

was not quite yet discouraged from his attempts upon the king of England: he was still in the court of the elector Palatine, whom he advised to build a citadel upon the ground which divided his territories from France, for the defence, he said, of the true religion; and had the boldness, without asking his majesty's leave, to solicit Erard, his first engineer, to come and draw the plan of this fortress for him. To serve his ambition every thing seemed lawful, and sacred as well as profane things were prostituted to that purpose. He published a writing this year, in which he exclaimed, in a most outrageous manner, against the whole body of the protestants: he had already drawn great advantages from this stratagem, and seconded it on his side by counterfeiting perfectly well great uneasiness and apprehension of the miseries which hung over the protestants, in consequence of the new resolutions that were taken by the council of France, to whom he attributed these libels. However, it was no difficult matter to prove, that they had been composed by his friends, and sent into England with a view to hinder his majesty from succeeding in his endeavours to gain king James: but it was upon weak and hot-headed persons that Bouillon always imposed; and on them indeed his pains were not all cast away. An assembly of protestants was held at Saumur and Poitou, on occasion of the king's last indisposition, in which Du-Plessis extolled this duke in a manner not only ridiculous, but likewise insolent and presumptuous; for the praises he gave his hero seemed to be all at the king's expence, whom he calumniated without any respect to his person or dignity.

Of all these assemblies, none made so much noise as that which was held at Gap, the latter end of this year. The elector Palatine, and the duke of Bouillon, by their letters and creatures, caused questions to be proposed in it which had a strong tendency to the rekindling a war. The minister Ferrier, by their orders

orders, uſed his utmoſt endeavours to prevail upon the proteſtants to inſert amongſt their articles of confeſſion, that the pope is the antichriſt: ſurely it could not be called a ſpirit of religion, but rather of diſcord and intrigue, that preſided at the deciſion of this ridiculous tenet, which they likewiſe propoſed to ſend printed to all the univerſities of Europe. As ſoon as the king was informed of this ſcandalous proceeding, he ſent me orders from Fontainebleau, where he had reſided ſince his return from Normandy, to put a ſtop to the licentiouſneſs of the proteſtants, and, above all, to hinder this new article of faith † from being received. Villeroi likewiſe, by his commands, preſſed me to exert myſelf on this occaſion. I wrote immediately to Saint-Germain ‡ and Deſbordes; and whether it was owing to the arguments I made uſe of to ſhew them the folly of their conduct, or the advice I gave them not to irritate Henry, who they ſaw was reſolved not to ſpare them, I know not, but the article in queſtion was at length ſuppreſſed. The pope, I believe, was under great apprehenſions about it; for he was ſo extremely enraged, that it was with difficulty his majeſty could appeaſe him: and probably it was to this incident, that the jeſuits owed their re-eſtabliſhment in France. The holy father had the conſolation to ſee his dominions filled with an acceſſion of monks of every kind, Auguſtins reformed, Recolets, barefooted Carmelites, ignorant fryars; and amongſt the other ſex, capuchin nuns, folietans, and carmelites: ſo many religious orders were never inſtituted at one time as in this year.

The boldneſs of the proteſtants, on this occaſion, will not appear ſo ſurpriſing, if it be conſidered that they had even gone greater lengths upon another,

† See the life of Du-Pleſſis-Mornay, b. ii. p. 296, where we find the ſteps taken by de Mornay, to procure the reception of this abſurd tenet.

‡ Deputies from the calviniſt party to reſide at court, according to the cuſtom of that time.

when they were insolent enough to offer their mediation to the king, in favour of certain foreign princes with whom he had reason to be dissatisfied. I was continually repeating to them, that those rebellious proceedings would fall heavy upon them one day or other, and that they would groan for them a long time: but they had prophets whose predictions were far more agreeable to them than mine. Bouillon, La Tremouille, Lesdiguieres, and Du-Plessis, to render my representations ineffectual, and myself the object of their hatred, insinuated every where, that I sacrificed, on all occasions, that very religion for which I pretended so much zeal; and that, by this practice, I enriched myself with wealth and preferment, to which other men had a better claim: nor did the Papists, except perhaps a very few, consider themselves as at all obliged to me for that which I did upon principles of pure equity; for by the malignity of my stars, or the invidiousness of my place, I must honestly own I lost my labour.

While these complaints of the protestants against me ran highest, I went one day to his majesty, with an intention to make him such representations as would secure me against the effects of their malice. The king was then in a gallery near his chamber, walking with the duke of Montpensier, cardinal Joyeuse, and the duke of Epernon: he made me a sign to approach, and asked me whether I could guess the subject of his conversation with those three gentlemen. I answered only with a bow. "We were "talking, said the king, of the government of Poi-"tou, and they have advised me to give it to you; "could you have imagined this? they being such "good catholics, and you such an obstinate hugue-"not." I did not even know that this government was vacant. Lavardin, who was governor of Perche and Maine, had the reversion of it after the death of Malicorne, who was very aged and infirm, and intended to resign his own for it; but reflecting that all

all his eſtates were ſituated in the provinces he was at preſent governor of, he releaſed Malicorne from his engagement, and both together came to reſign this government to the king, that he might diſpoſe of it in favour of one of his natural children.

HENRY likewiſe inſiſted upon my gueſſing his motives for preferring me to this poſt, rather than any other perſon, or thoſe even that were ſo near to him. I had nothing to alledge, but the knowledge his majeſty had of my fidelity and ardour for his ſervice. The king replied, that his true reaſon for giving it me, was, becauſe I was an huguenot, but a reaſonable one, and zealous for the good of my country; that the proteſtants beholding me in this light, could not but be highly ſatisfied with his choice; and that he did not doubt but that his whole kingdom would be no leſs ſo, ſince I was capable of inſpiring them with more dutiful ſentiments, of giving them juſt notions of their king, and of teaching them to rely on his goodneſs, and to reſpect and love his perſon; and that, by ſuffering the gratuities which he granted to the principal members of this body to paſs through my hands, the authority which the duke of Bouillon ſtill preſerved amongſt them might be deſtroyed. He majeſty added (without doubt becauſe theſe three gentlemen, who were alſo joined by Briſac, Ornano, and Roquelaure, were preſent) that although he felt ſo ſtrong an affection for his religion, as to wiſh with the utmoſt ardour to ſee it embraced by all the huguenots, and by me in particular, yet he could never forget that God had made uſe of that body, and of the cities of Rochelle, Bergerac, and Montauban, eſpecially, to free him from the oppreſſion of Spain, to aſſiſt him in ſupporting his juſt claims, and to ſave even his life from the fury of the leaguers; that, on this account, however diſcontented he might be with thoſe cities for diſcovering leſs duty and affection for him than formerly, yet nevertheleſs he thought himſelf obliged in honour, to con-

tinue the same gratuities he had always allowed them for their fortifications and colleges. The king repeated several instances which the province of Poitou had hitherto given, of its inviolable attachment to its lawful prince, "when no Bouillon, said he, "was there to excite them to sedition;" and could not hinder himself from saying, that, at this very time, the welfare of the kingdom depended upon maintaining a peace with the protestants.

AFTER this, his majesty told me, that I might treat directly with messieurs de Lavardin and Malicorne, repeating, that it was more for the interest of the state, and therefore more agreeable to his inclinations, to give this government to me, than to his own children. All that were present said something in approbation of what his majesty had done, and praise of me; and I made my acknowledgment to all, either in words or by low bows. I dispatched Montmartin immediately to Lavardin and Malicorne; and he transacted the business with such prudence, that, by a seasonable present of a thousand crowns to those whose advice they took in this affair, I got this government from them for twenty thousand crowns. Upon their resignation, Du-Fresne sent me, on the sixteenth of December, the patents for the government of Poitou, Châtelleraudois, Loudunois, &c. This made my revenue from governments amount to thirty thousand livres; namely, twelve thousand livres from the governments of Mante and Gergeau, which I already possessed, and were both very lucrative for private governments, especially Gergeau, on account of the garrisons; and eighteen thousand livres from that of Poitou: in this sum, however, I have always included my salaries for the two posts of superintendant of the fortifications, and of the works.

I MUST not omit giving some account of the attempts that were made this year in France, to establish the stuff manufactures, and especially silk ones. Henry, who was carried with ardour to every thing which

which in his opinion could contribute to the glory and utility of the kingdom, suffered himself to be persuaded, by Les Bourgs and Des Cumans, that it was a mighty easy matter not only to supply silks for our home consumption, which used to be brought from foreign countries and distant regions, but also to carry on a considerable trade with foreigners for this merchandise. For this purpose, all that is necessary, said they, is to give encouragement to silk weavers to come amongst us, to increase the breed of silk-worms, plant mulberry-trees, and erect large buildings fit for these sort of manufactures. I exclaimed loudly against this scheme, which I never approved: but the king was so prejudiced in favour of it, that all my remonstrances were ineffectual.

I REMEMBER that one day, when his majesty did me the honour to visit me at the arsenal, to confer with me upon the necessary methods for establishing these manufactures, which could not be done without a great expence, we had a pretty warm debate about it. "I know not," said he to me, finding I received all the proposals he made me on this subject, with that reserve and coldness which I always assumed when I was not in his opinion. "I know "not, what whim this is that you have taken in "your head, to oppose a scheme so well calculated "to enrich and embellish the kingdom, to root out "idleness from among the people, and which I "should find so much satisfaction in completing." I replied, that this last reason had so much weight with me, that, if I could see the least probability of succeeding in the schemes for a silk manufacture, I should content myself with representing to his majesty that he would purchase this satisfaction at rather too high a price, and destroy by it that which he proposed to himself in the execution of those great designs, which, by his command, I had mentioned to the king of England; but that I entreated him not to be offended with me, if I presumed to tell him,

that I could not, as he did, see either glory or utility resulting from this establishment. I then asked him, if he would permit me to give him my reasons for thinking so differently from him. "I give you "leave, said he, but upon condition that you after- "wards hear mine, which, I am persuaded, are "more convincing than yours." I then made the following observations to his majesty.

That it was through a wise dispensation of Providence, which designed that all the nations of the earth, or of one continent, should be obliged by their common necessities to have an intercourse with each other, that this country was fitted to produce one thing, and that another, exclusively of all the rest: France had the good fortune to be so favourably distinguished in this distribution of benefits, that no country probably, except Egypt, so universally abounded with whatever supplied the necessities, or contributed merely to the conveniencies of life, to the rest of the world: her corn, grain, and pulse, her wine, cyders, flax, hemp, salt, wood, oil, dying drugs, that immense quantity of cattle, great and small, which usually serve her inhabitants for food, putting her in a condition not only to envy none of her neighbours on the score of any of these advantages, but even to dispute with them those which make up all the trade they carry on: Spain, Italy, and Sicily, are of this number.

It is certain that her climate refuses silk; the spring begins too late, and an excessive moisture almost always prevails; and this inconvenience, which is absolutely irremediable, affects not only the silk-worms, which, on this account, are hatched with great difficulty, but likewise the mulberry-trees that these insects feed upon; for which a mild and temperate air is necessary in the season wherein they put forth their leaves. The difficulty of multiplying them in a country where none ever grew, cannot but be very great: it will be five years at least before there can

can be any certainty of their coming to perfection; during which we risk the loss of time, labour, and the produce of the ground they are planted in. But are these difficulties, which ought to dissuade us from engaging in an enterprize, the success of which they do not render doubtful but impossible, a real loss to us? That is the question.

A COUNTRY life affords so many various labours and employments, that in France none need be idle but those who resolve against all work; therefore it is necessary to begin, by curing people of this lazy disposition, which, if real, is the only thing worthy of attention. But how is this done by offering them the culture of silk for an employment? first they leave one profession, which brings them in a certain and sufficient income, for another, where their gains are casual and doubtful. It would not indeed be very difficult to make them prefer this to the former, because it is but too natural to quit a hard and laborious kind of life, such as agriculture is, considered in its full extent, for one that, like working upon silk, does not fatigue the body by any violent motion. But even this is another argument to prove the dangerous consequences of suffering the country people to be thus employed: it has been a common observation at all times and in all places, that the best soldiers are found amongst the families of robust, laborious, and nervous workmen: if, instead of these, we enlist men who are brought up to no other labour that what a child, if taught it, has strength to perform, we shall be soon convinced they are no longer fit for the military art, which requires, as I have often heard his majesty himself observe, a strong constitution, confirmed by laborious exercises, that tend to maintain in its full vigour the whole strength and force of the body. And this military art, the situation of France, and the nature of her politics, make it absolutely necessary to hinder from degenerating or being depressed.

At the same time that we enervate the country people, who in every respect are the true supporters of the state, among those of the city we introduce luxury, with all her train of mischiefs, effeminacy, sloth, voluptuousness, and that domestic extravagancy which it is not to be feared that people who have but little, and know how to be satisfied with that little, will ever plunge into. In France we have already too many of these useless citizens, who under habits glittering with gold and embroidery, conceal the manners of weak women.

The objection, that immense sums of money are carried out of France into foreign countries for the support of this luxury, proves the truth of what I have just observed, and destroys the inference they pretend to draw from it: would they reason justly upon the inconveniency that arises from this commerce, and this importation of vain and unnecessary merchandizes, they would be convinced, that the best thing that could be done, would be to suppress the use of them entirely, and absolutely prohibit their being brought into France; at the same time to fix, by good and severe regulations, the richness of cloaths and furniture; and to put every thing of this kind upon the same footing as they were in the reigns of Lewis XI. Charles VIII. and Lewis XII†. That necessity which obliges us to dress in one sort

† Many edicts of this kind were issued at different times during the reign of Henry IV. against which the dealers in silk at Paris presented many useless remonstrances to the king and M. de Rosny. The Memoirs for the history of France relate in what manner that minister received the sieur Henriot, who spoke for them, a good old merchant, whose manners and dress bore the marks of the simplicity and plainness of the tradesmen of former times.--- "The next day, says the "writer of these Memoirs, they waited on M. de Sully, who answered them only with disdain and ridicule; for Henriot having put "one knee to the ground, that nobleman immediately raised him up; "and having turned him round, the better to survey his old-fashioned "dress, being a short holyday-grown, lined with taffety, his jacket "and the rest of his cloaths ornamented with silks of different kinds, "in the manner they were formerly wore by merchants, he said to "him, Honest friend, what reason can you and your company "have to complain, when you are much finer than I am? Is not "this

of ſtuffs rather than another, is the mere vice of fancy; and the price that is ſet upon them, an evil we fall into with full conviction. Were we to conſider, though but with the ſlighteſt attention, the ſource of what is called the faſhion, we ſhould find, to our ſhame and confuſion, that a ſmall number of perſons, and thoſe the moſt deſpicable of a great city, which incloſes all ſorts indifferently within her walls, for whom, if we were acquainted with them, we ſhould feel that contempt we have for men without morals, or that compaſſion we have for fools, that theſe very men diſpoſe nevertheleſs of our purſes, and keep us enſlaved to their caprices.

But ſilk cloaths are not the only things which require reformation by the royal power; there is as much to be done with reſpect to diamonds, jewels, ſtatues, and pictures, if it be conſidered as a grievance, that foreigners take away our gold and ſilver: we muſt likewiſe take into conſideration, equipages, kitchen-furniture, moveables, and every thing in which theſe metals are made uſe of. If we reflect upon the amazing extravagance that prevails in France, the ſums ſquandered fooliſhly in gardens, buildings, coſtly works, entertainments, liquors, and what not; if we think on the exorbitant price paid for offices, of marriages ſet up to auction, what is there that wants no reformation? We cannot charge to foreign manufactures the tenth part of the money that is thrown away in France, without the leaſt neceſſity. The care which the law and the finances would require, would engage us in an endleſs digreſſion: theſe two bodies of men, of which the one ought to be the guardians of regularity, and the other of parſimony, ſeem only to have been brought into the world, to deſtroy both the one and the other. Theſe are the only people that know what it is to be

" this damaſk, this taffety? &c. And after turning them into ridi-
" cule ſent them away without giving them any other ſatisfaction;
" which made them ſay, as they were returning, The ſervant is
" ruder and haughtier than his maſter." Vol. II. p. 278.

rich; and how they come by this wealth, may be seen by the manner in which they spend it: the old chancellors, first presidents, counsellors of state, and the heads of the courts and revenues, if they were to come into the world again, would not know how to find those who now fill their places, and resemble them in nothing but their titles †.

I SAID every thing I could think of on this subject, that carried with it any force, to bring the king over to my opinion; but I could not prevail. "Your "arguments are very strong, said he to me; and I "would rather chuse to fight the king of Spain in

† Though silk, and other materials of luxury, are in strictness no otherwise good or bad, than according to the good or bad use made of them; yet, as it is really more common to apply them to bad than to good purposes, the good intention of the author, and the purity of his morals, cannot be sufficiently praised. The rigid defenders of the christian doctrines do, and always will, espouse his sentiments: but it must be acknowledged, that the politicians of the present times, even those who are most severe, think differently: they find nothing conclusive in those examples of antiquity which are produced against luxury, even in respect to the times from which they are taken, much less in regard to the present. According to their opinion, other causes brought about those revolutions which were attributed to it; which causes having now lost their force, such revolutions do not, nor can they happen again: the increase of gold and silver in Europe, occasioned by the mines of those metals discovered in America, and whence this part of the world has been enriched within the last two centuries, has introduced by its natural consequence luxury or superfluity, which makes the necessary exchange against the redundance of money, otherwise an useless drug. This has entirely changed the face of Europe, unavoidably influenced the systems of government, and left no means of aggrandizing any state except by commerce, which opens every inlet to luxury; no inconveniences arise from hence, till it exceeds what the profits of commerce will afford: besides, experience demonstrates more clearly than reasoning can, that it is not at all incompatible, either with order, subordination, or a military spirit.

As to what relates to silk, should we even suppose with M. de Sully, that France is improper to produce it, his manner of reasoning will nevertheless be imperfect, as he seems to have been ignorant how much the manufacture adds to the value of the original materials, and of what advantage that is to the kingdom. If any one should still remain unconvinced of this truth, he ought to be sent for conviction to our manufactures of silk at Lyons, Tours, &c. and in spite of what our author says in this place, the establishment of the manufactures of stuffs of all kinds, which was begun in the reign of Henry IV. will always compel us to speak in praise of him. See on this article, L'Essai politique sur la commerce, chap. 9. p. 105, second edit. 1736.

" three pitched battles, than engage all these peo-
" ple of the law, the offices, and the city especially,
" their wives and daughters, whom you have
" brought upon my back, with all your whimsical
" regulations." " Then it is your pleasure, Sire,
" replied I, that I should speak to you no more up-
" on this subject: however, time and experience
" will convince you, that France is not fitted for
" these gewgaws." I was obliged to content my-
self with endeavouring only to prevail upon the king to alter his intention of taking the Tournelles, and that whole enclosure for the new buildings he projected for his silk manufactories. I represented to him, that he would one day destroy what it would cost him so much to build, and brought to his remembrance, that once, when he was laying with me the foundations of a design, far more noble and just, the Tournelles had been destined for another building of a very different kind †. " As things
" shall fall out," replied Henry; and this was all I could get from him. He followed Zamet, who came to tell him, that the dinner he had ordered to be prepared for him at his house, was ready.

It was not, I confess, without deep regret, that I saw such large sums of money squandered, which might have been employed to so many useful purposes. I made a calculation of the expence Henry was commonly at every year, in buildings, in play, for his mistresses, and hounds, and found that it amounted to twelve hundred thousand crowns, a sum sufficient to maintain a body of fifteen thousand foot: I could not, though I risqued the danger of losing his affection, be silent upon this subject. He commanded me to give six thousand livres to madam

† The building here meant, was intended to be a magnificent square, of seventy-two fathom on every side, which was to be called the *square of France*; eight streets were to have opened into it, of eight toises in breadth, bearing the names of so many provinces. The design for it was made in 1608, but the death of Henry IV. put a stop to the execution of it: under the following reign it was executed in part, and was called the *royal square*.

de Verneuil, too happy once more to purchaſe, at this price, that domeſtic quiet which was ſo often interrupted by his wife and his miſtreſs: but fortunately for him, he eſcaped any broils this year. It was the current report at Fontainebleau, and for a long time believed, that the queen was again with child, but it was afterwards found to be a miſtake; which the king did me the honour to inform me of.

THE colony that was ſent to Canada this year, was among the number of thoſe things that had not my approbation, there was no kind of riches to be expected from all thoſe countries of the new world, which are beyond the fortieth degree of latitude. His majeſty gave the conduct of this expedition to the ſieur Du-Mont †.

† See in the Septenary, the deſcription of a voyage made to Canada bythe ſieur Du-Mont. There is alſo a relation of the manners of the inhabitants of this part of the new world; but it is very unfaithful, and filled with fables. M. de Sully is again miſtaken in this point; our new colonies are a proof of it. We refer for a further account of this matter to L'Eſſai politique ſur le commerce.

Liberty and protection, theſe two words which comprehend the only true means of bringing the internal commerce of a nation into a flouriſhing ſtate, may, in another ſenſe, be applied to the trade carried on to the two Indies; that is to ſay, as the author of theſe Memoirs remarks, that none of the trading nations of Europe ſhould be excluded from it, but that it ſhould be indiſcriminately ſhared amongſt them all; and that the method of carrying it on to the moſt general advantage, is by excluſive privileges, granted not to private perſons, but to whole companies, acting under the name, and by the authority of the king.

I ought not to forget obſerving here, that the firſt company for carrying on a trade to the Eaſt-Indies was eſtabliſhed in France, under the reign of Henry IV. and in the year after his death. It was formed by a Fleming, called Gerard-le-Roy. The edict of this eſtabliſhment, which bears date the firſt of June 1604, grants many exemptions and privileges to this company: the fifth and ſixth articles are ſomething remarkable, it being therein ſaid, that gentlemen might become members of this company, without derogation to their gentility. The difficulty of procuring the neceſſary funds, the diſunion amongſt the members, and all the other cauſes, which have ſo often ſince occaſioned the deſtruction of this inſtitution, prevented its having the propoſed effect at that time: it was reſerved for the celebrated M. Colbert, to place it on a more ſolid and durable baſis.

END OF THE THIRD VOLUME.